

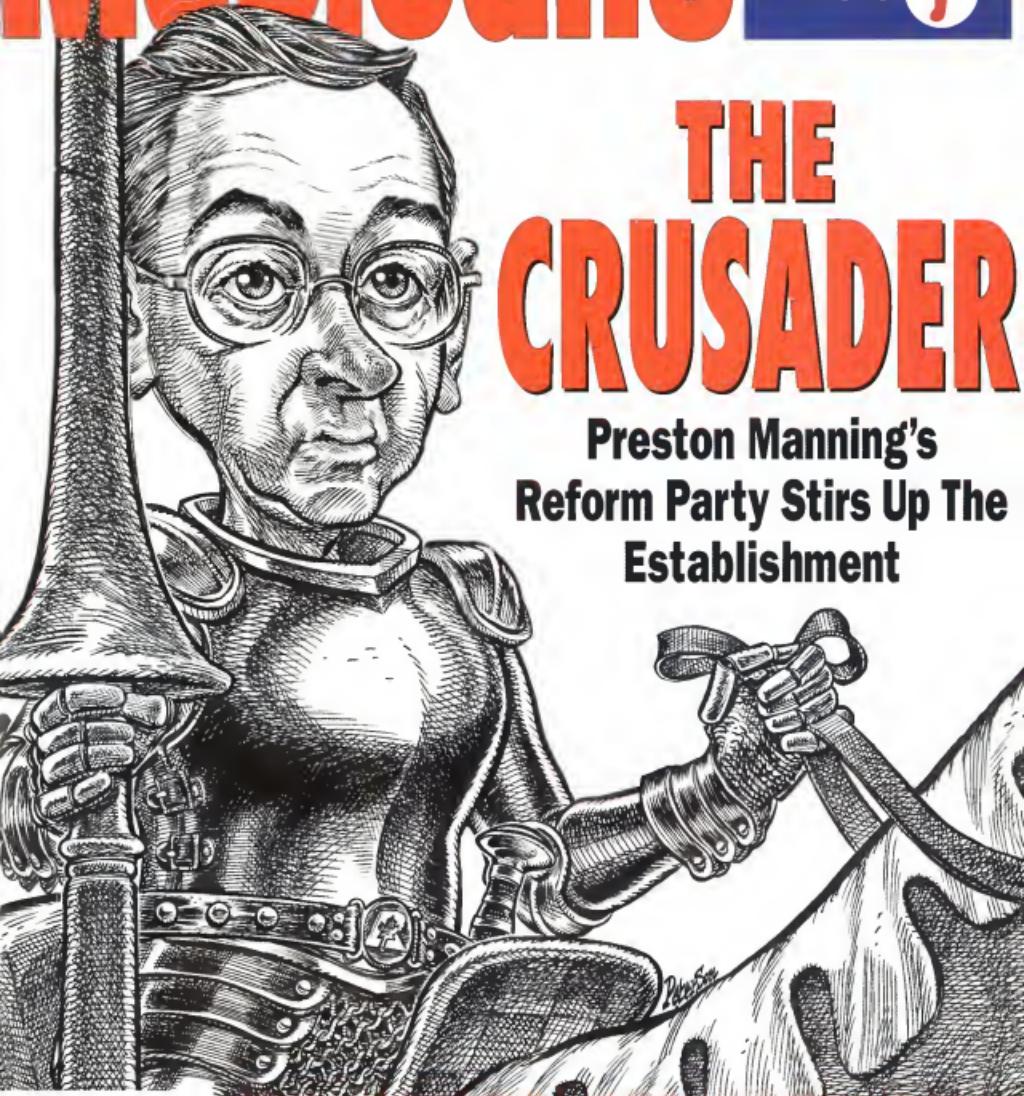
# Maclean's



TORONTO  
THE GOOD  
VS. THE NASTY  
BOYS 

## THE CRUSADER

Preston Manning's  
Reform Party Stirs Up The  
Establishment



The Leaders Answer Ten Key Questions

43



Ultimately, there's Black.



Maclean's

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSPRAGAZINE OCTOBER 25, 1999 VOL. 136 NO. 43



## The crusader

At a time of apathy towards politicians, or indifference, Preston Manning provokes strong reactions. Some see his Reform party as an incubator of intolerance, others regard him as the last hope to fix an off-kilter political system. The real Manning is an obsessive student of politics who has taken his populist crusade to the brink of national influence.

## Death and defiance

As a campaign of terror swept Haiti, a UN plan to restore democracy collapsed. Peacekeepers, including a team of Mounties, pulled out.



## Culture clash

The 1999 World Series is a clash of opposites. Toronto's Blue Jays, tidy efficient, took on the Philadelphia Phillies, the down-and-dirty underdogs, as the Jays tried for a rare second straight championship.



## Halifax the hip!

For its citizens, the seaport capital of Nova Scotia has long since shaken off its reputation as a stuffy backwater. Now, outsiders are giving Halifax rave reviews for its music scene, trendy cafés and its renowned college of art.



## Porn star

I was saddened by your approach to saluting Linda (Jag) Jagernauth in the issue of pornography in your cover story ("The king of porn," Oct. 10). Sandy Jagernauth was clearly portrayed as a capitalist hero, a businessman who successfully won his way to the top, shamelessly and with pride. The selling of pornographic material cannot be justified by the fallacy that the actives in the movies say they get out of work, or by the so-called back-handed profits of one case. Such selfishness might be condemned as an act to wreck Canada's sense of family, safety, morality, honesty and innocence.

Rachel Saksikoff,  
Edmonton



Jagernauth, actress, shrewd and regret

## Justice for all

True justice would be served if the five justices of the Supreme Court of Canada who upheld the law against Sue Rodriguez ("A wrenching decision," Canada, Oct. 10) were obliged to sit by her bedside while she dies.

Peggy Nash Gauthier,  
Ottawa

## Breaking faith

I have difficulty accepting the possibility that one of the parties that might hold the balance of power is not a national party, but the Bloc Québécois ("Majority partners?" From the editor, Oct. 10). It is hypocritical for a member of Parliament, having taken an oath of allegiance to the Crown, to then sit in the House of Commons and actively encourage a disunited Canada. When the oath of allegiance is broken, that member should forfeit the right to be a sitting member, without the condoning the oath is meaningless. As things stand, tax dollars are being paid to members of a separatist party to help in their fight to break up the country.

J. F. Bonell,  
Gatineau, Alta.

## Universally poor

No candidate would eat funding to health care ("Social programs: the cuts to come," Canada, Oct. 10). But in 1985, the federal government began to decrease health-care transfer payments to the prov-

vinces. These transfer payments are set to end by the year 2000. So I would ask each national leader: "Would you admit that we cannot afford our health-care system under the present cuts? Would you change the rules? What basic health care should every Canadian be entitled to? What are the extra costs we cannot afford?" Failure to answer, failure to act, condones us to a vision of universal poor care, care that will become poorer. You can bet on that. I warn there:

Dr. Peter Zelen,  
Sudbury, Ont.

## The common good

The idea of bringing a group of Canadians together to try to look at the debt problem ("Tough choices," Cover, Sept. 27) was a very effective way of bringing the problem home. It will be through that sort of focus that we can perhaps accomplish what began to happen in your group when the appeal for representative new oilfield materials being slashed by 30 per cent, it influenced a 10 per 30 per cent reduction in agricultural subsidies. If Canadians were able to put our common interests ahead of our particular interests, then we might just get the debt problem behind us.

Bob Johnson,  
Ta Ta Creek, B.C.

## Union members

Your analysis of Canadian unions' willingness to join CETA ("Labouring for a new approach," Business, Oct. 10) contains two anomalies. You attribute to me two statements that membership of unions in mining and manufacturing dropped 37 per cent between 1979 and 1988, and that in the 1980s "the total number of people enrolled in Canadian unions has actually stagnated." First, the aggregate decline in the mining and manufacturing sectors was 15.5 per cent, not 37 per cent, as you suggest. And secondly, though union density as a percentage of non-agricultural workers' union has remained steadily unchanged, total union membership in Canada has risen steadily since the mid-1980s. My concern about the Canadian labour movement has remained strong, but the union movement has remained strong in facing resistance in the face of an increasingly unaffordable economic and public policy climate, due, in large part to its proactive strategies and advocacy in workers' changing needs and expectations.

Pauline Kassner,  
Associate Professor,  
School of Industrial Relations,  
Queen's University,  
Kingston, Ont.

I myself do not find pornography ultimate when the acts portrayed are between consenting adults. However, I do find that some of the adult pornography groups are running about the role and distribution of government-controlled material such as movies and magazines. Instead, they should focus their time and efforts on stopping the illegal sale and distribution of material involving children, brevity and violence. These are the things that are degrading to humans, not just to women. Leave the centre with sides stories alone and concentrate on the real crusade.

Wendy Rennick,  
Winnipeg

My wife and I are returning our copy of your Oct. 10 issue about Sandy Jagernauth and the spirit of pornography in Canada today as our expression of dismay and regret with your decision to give space and visibility to a key figure in an industry so degrading and demeaning to children and to women.

Bob Shorstein,  
Winnipeg Square United Church,  
Winnipeg, Manitoba



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# OPENING NOTES

## WORD FOR WORD

### Maggie's stiletto

Former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher is gleefully bent on unseating her Canadian counterparts in an early fall election. *By Donal Skehan, The Toronto Star*

1983. "What liberal leftists like Trudeau seemed unable to grasp was that such acts of heroism as the shooting down of a [Iranian Air Lines] civilian aircraft [by Soviet planes earlier that month] were by no means uncharacteristic of the Communist system itself."

Likewise the same year: "I had my first meeting with [new Conservative leader Brian Mulroney]. He was charming and charismatic but he lacked any real political experience. Mulroney and I were...to become good friends, though we were very different sorts of politicians and were to have some serious disagreements. As leader of the Progressive Conservatives, I thought he put too much stress on the adjective as opposed to the noun."

At the 1985 Commonsitzing summit in Ottawa, Mulroney and [then] Brian Mulroney [and [then] Brian Mulroney arrived at the



Thatcher, Mulroney: "uncharismatic critics"

house to show me their [draft憲章]. Also, I could not give them high marks and spent the best part of two hours explaining why their proposals were unacceptable to me."

At the 1987 Commonsitzing summit in Vancouver, where Mulroney insisted his opposition to secession against South Africa

"is only to the unconstitutional extension of our Canadian hosts, I had figures released which showed that Canada's imports from South Africa had risen. It was a useful moment on the Commonsitzing front's uncharisma. Not just Mr. Mulroney, but almost everyone else, it seemed, concluded with indignation at this intrusion of hot upon rhetoric."

cover a jail—fate, he's bringing something to Canada. But what is he bringing? Death and destruction to the people?

"[The] CRTC will not allow Christian television in Canada, but they let the Murdochistic put a share of the devl content on the screen. You can allude to [Toronto radio station] Q107, and recall music about the devl, and about the bad things and corruption. Spuds and everything else, and then you turn on MacMurray and they're singing about hunting up people and raping women. And then they want to change our laws. We're bringin' racism and anti-government. Beck and he should be in research. Except for the Murdochistic orbit."

"I don't really want to be an ag, but somebody has got to do it. I would like to be prime minister one day."

Beck: under attack, out of the campaign

## 'Death and destruction'

"They block the port, but I've had an ultimatum," said John Bock last week after withdrawing his candidacy for the Reform party in the North Toronto riding of York Centre. Party officials called Bock to resign after constituents he made to the York University student newspaper, *Encounter*, wrote an open letter attacking him and his party.

"I think we have to have immigrants, and people that are assets to Canada's future. But they can't be helping jobs to come home.... You have a \$10,000 gap there—ranging to buy a citizenship visa. Canada is

## CAMPAIGN SCRAPBOOK

*Notes from Week 6 of the federal campaign*

• **Don't shoot the piano-player** Relations between Kim Campbell and the national news media reporters covering her campaign have deteriorated to an extraordinary extent. Campbell seems to have concluded herself that her press has hampered her popularity because journalists are unable to communicate her message. She could tell reporters, give radio and TV interviews that the national media were not allowed to at all. Instead, they were given the tapes later. *Montreal Gazette* American journalists on her tour have privately asked their Canadian colleagues why the Prime Minister's relations with the media were allowed to become so hostile. For her part, a constant line of questions has strained journalists' tempers. Last week, Campbell told reporters that she had to explain how her government would respond to the new economy, "but the problem was the people who were covering it didn't understand the message." Later in two separate radio interviews, she complained that the links between devl's reduction and job creation "were difficult things for the media to get a grip on and to cover." And later, MacLeans had 10 questions to her about the economy. Quebec and the justice system, she snapped. "Those questions don't show journalists in the best light, nothing, with a stamp. Oh well, it's all self."

• **All in the family** Playing hooky for a few days from her first-year classes at the University of Guelph, Mary Jo Measuring paid her father, Reform Leader Preston Manning, in Toronto and southern Ontario last week. The glare of media attention made the top an eye-opener for the 14-year-old. "I hope the interview got deserved by everything they read in the news," she said. "The whole picture is never shown. I talk with my dad about things and I know when he is really coming from." During an appearance of York University in Toronto, Manning's school was invited to question Reform party racism and her mother, Margaret, added: "This would never happen at the University of Oxford."

• **Grin and bear it** Andrew Mitchell, Liberal MP for Vancouver South, gave a speech in Whitehorse on election day, Oct. 25. The weather was bad. Elling, an engineer, a few days before the TV debates on Oct. 3 and 4, but he settled in to get through. With her party fifth in the polls last week, she has days to go before she can afford to leave.

• **Checkmate** House

has been thrown out the window and they're sleeping it off," said Natasja Drost. Drost says last week, a summation of the campaign from the

culmination of Ken Campbell's. Nap. Drost was commenting on the world chess championship in London. A math professor at the University of British Columbia and president of the Canadian Chess Federation, he is working with a panel of international experts who analyse every move between challenger Nigel Short and reigning champion Garry Kasparov. But Drostway was less forthcoming about the political connection back home—or his wife's chances. She reply when asked about the election. "I'm very happy that the Blue Jays beat the White Sox." Now why does that kind of evasion sound so familiar?

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## PASSAGES

**AWARDED:** The Nobel Peace Prize to South African Nelson Mandela, 75, and F.W. de Klerk, 57, "for their struggle for a new democratic South Africa" by the Norwegian panel that selected the 1993 Nobel laureates. De Klerk, elected president of South Africa in 1989, is from African National Congress leader Mandela from prison one year later, where he had been since 1963 on charges of trying to overthrow the apartheid government. The Nobel panel cited the two men, who have been in almost constant negotiation since then, for their "personal integrity



and great political courage" in reaching an agreement on a new political regime based on one man, one vote. South Africa's first general elections are scheduled for April 27, 1994. Referring to recent violence in the country, de Klerk said the peace "will bring a message of hope to all South Africans that the world wants us to achieve lasting peace." Added Mandela: "The Nobel Prize is a tribute to all South Africans."

**APPRAISE:** A suspended sentence given the man who stabbed Yugoslav-born tennis star Monica Seles 11 in the back during an April tournament in Hamburg by German state prosecutors. The appeal followed public outrage after Gaetano Pericoli, 38, an unlicensed hairdresser from eastern Germany, received a two-year suspended sentence from a Hamburg judge.

**TRUMP:** To Marie Maples, 26, and Donald Trump, 47, a seven-pound, seven-ounce daughter in a Bronx, N.Y., hospital. Trump said his daughter will be named Tiffany after the Fifth Avenue jewelry store new York Tower residential-office-shopping complex.

**AWARDED:** Canada's best literary prize, the \$50,000 David Gilmour Prize, to Kamala Markanday, 46, for *Clouds, Star*, an indictment of the Arab world. The Iraqi-born Markanday, who has written two other books under pseudonyms, is under contract to write a third. She lives in Cambridge, Mass. The literary prize is awarded by a Canadian committee to the year's best book on international relations published in English.

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTION

1. *The Rubber Room*, Arlene Klaskin (D)
2. *The Bridges of Madison County*, Robert Wallace (D)
3. *London*, Iris Kavallines (D)
4. *The Broken Hours*, Mark Haddon (D)
5. *A Dangerous Fortune*, Kay Redfield (D)
6. *Nightmare Before Christmas*, Stephen King (D)
7. *Beck*, Don DeLillo (D)
8. *It's a Glass House*, Peter Peryea (D)
9. *The Ethical Slut*, Carron Smith (D)
10. *Reef House*, Stephen King (D)

*From *Postmedia* book*  
Compiled by Kim Bellman

### NONFICTION

1. *Principles*, Ray Dalio (M)
2. *We Were the Mutants*, Ken Dryden (D)
3. *Big Languages*, Josephine Kavallines (D)
4. *Arbiter Body*, Timmins Monk, David Gilmour (D)
5. *Women Who Run With the Wolves*, Clarissa Pinkola Estes (D)
6. *Black Helium and Baby Unabomber*, Stephen King (D)
7. *Final Witness*, Jeffrey Dahmer (D)
8. *The Book of Life*, Joseph Lennan (M)
9. *The Four Pillars of the Mind*, Sam Harris (D)
10. *Further Adventures in the Real-World Classroom*, M. Scott Peck (D)





# The way ahead

**After the votes are counted, it will be time to face the new realities**

**J**ean Chrétien was acting as though he could already feel the buzzards of the private sector's office-slaughter. Touring Ontario last week to mark the end of a remorseless double-freeze campaign, Chrétien seemed to swear it was time to demonstrate some spine. It was time to demonstrate some spine in industrial mettle, time to call some shots. The future of the \$13 billion heliports that the Conservatives promised to buy for \$8 billion? "They've gone," Chrétien told about 800 high-school students in Welland. How quickly he's started creating jobs with his \$6-billion public works project? "Right away," he said. With polls showing—and

some experts even conceding—a like-of victory on Oct. 25, Chrétien started to talk about what he will do, rather than what he promises to do in prime minister.

But campaigning is always easier than governing, as new Nova Scotia Premier John Savage would surely attest. Last May, Savage took power after promising to cut the province's \$70,000-a-student budget to work without imposing new taxes. But when he brought down his modest budget in September, fiscal reality swamped Savage's plans. Taxes rose and a major government program was abandoned. "We are up against our own rhetoric," confesses

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CAMPAGN  
'93

**Chrétien, one senior Liberal says his advisers "don't understand the magnitude of the problem."**

John Young, president of the Nova Scotia Liberals, "The most disconcerting fact about winning an election these days is that you come in ready to roll, only to find out that you are financially strapped."

Whoever takes power in Ottawa after Oct. 25 will be similarly constrained by treasury woes. During the first five months of the 1993-1994 fiscal year the federal deficit hit \$11.8 billion—\$2 billion more than in the same period a year earlier. "They don't understand the magnitude of the problem," said one fiscally conservative Liberal adviser last week, even meeting on the party's preparations to take power. "They think they can trim around the edges, and a lot of them won't add that you can't spend more than you can this year. The guys are writing a treasury document based on realities that aren't real anymore."

The new realities, as Savage discovered, can be summed up easily. No Money and Little Tax. The next federal government, especially if it lacks a majority, is unlikely to have the know-how of a long retreat to ponder choices and the merits of various structures. Chrétien's advisers have said privately that they would prefer to wait until next February to bring in a new budget. But if the squeeze on federal finances gets any worse, a Liberal administration might be forced into presenting an interim financial statement well before then.

The list of other pressing political problems is long. Should Ottawa push to replace the North American Free Trade Agreement before its scheduled implementation on Jan. 1, as Chrétien has promised? Should cuts be made to defense spending, something all parties have called for, at a time when the Canadian Forces are taking on additional post-cold-war duties abroad? Should Bank of Canada Governor John Crow have his term renewed when it expires on Jan. 22?

For Chrétien, even such seemingly simple steps as cancelling the helicopter program may be fraught with difficulty. The savings may be as large as he has implied last week. National Defence officials put the cost of cancelling the program at \$850 million. Cancelled contracts would also hurt Canadian suppliers. Canada纤通, notably Montreal-based Parusco Systems Canada Inc., stood to benefit from \$3.2 billion of Ottawa spending on the program. Chrétien's other short-term problems would be as less difficult. We'll be able to change the way the GST is collected to share its revenues with the provinces—something those Canadians who expected him to do will be sure to applaud.

On the fiscal side, so far, all these decisions might have to be made by a government holding a majority in the Commons—in which case Canadians are likely to witness some uncomfortable situations. The alternative would be a daring take-it-as-it-comes style that might force Canadians back to the polls in months. Some of the boldest moves

## JOB

The Liberals' wised voters away from the issues by making jobs, rather than deficit reduction, the centerpiece of their campaign. But Chrétien would be hard-pressed to find funding even for his modest job-creation plan to repair and upgrade roads, sewers and bridges—he says it will cost 100,000 temporary jobs. The Liberals would risk the anger of voters if they failed to share equally at the cost. But while the economic plan can be based on a basis of a much smaller program—or even a decade—each budget should start from scratch. The previous two, so far, have awarded Chrétien a plus. But Nova Scotia's Savage, Newfoundland's Premier Clyde Wells and last week that they've put earlier promises to pay the later's share of the cost. That is just a taste of the vagueness to be expected from all three levels of government, all eyes now, before any job numbers are posted.

If Canadians elect a Liberal majority, the new government would still need to get its budgeting through the Commons. The Tories and Indians ridiculed Chrétien's program throughout the campaign, and would insist that Ottawa find new places to cut—not bloat—spending. As a result, Chrétien might have to solicit support from the Bloc Québécois to get a job bill enacted. Bouchard maintains that the Bloc shares common ground with federalists on tax-cut constitutional issues. "We will support any party which cuts taxes, military spending, and government operations in order to invest in jobs," Bouchard told Maclean's this week.

## CLEARING THE AIR

The Supreme Court of Canada agreed to hear an appeal brought by two tobacco companies on the legality of the federal government's ban on tobacco advertising.

The tobacco companies argue that the ad ban and other restrictions on how they can promote tobacco products violates their freedom of expression under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

## JAIL FOR LOGGING PROTESTERS

In a tough-sounding decision, Justice John Boult of the Quebec Superior Court handed down jail sentences and fines of at least \$10,000 each to 44 protesters who had ignored court orders against disrupting logging at Chaponot State Forest. More than 700 people, most of them First Nations offenders, have been charged with contempt of court since July.

# Canada Notes

## LINE FATHER, LINE SON

As expected, Quebec Treasury Board president Daniel Johnson Jr. declared himself a candidate to succeed retiring Premier Robert Bourassa. The son of a former premier, Johnson is a fiscal conservative and an unapologetic federalist in a party badly divided on constitutional issues. But, faced with Johnson's already strong support in the party, no other candidate appears likely to run.

## A BOUNCING BOTTOM LINE

Ontario's auditor refused to endorse the province's 1993-1993 financial report because they underestimated government spending by \$328 million. In a rare move, Eric Pletsch said that the decision by Bob Rae's NDP government to defer a pension fund payment to the next fiscal year was "too big to ignore." The deferral allowed the Ontario government to record last year's deficit as \$11.9 billion, instead of \$12.5 billion. Treasurer Floyd Littlepage rejected opposition suggestions that he was "cooking the books."

## COUGAR'S WORRIES

Fiscal and legal troubles continue to shadow Terry Senator Michel Cagger. The Tory activist and close friend of former prime minister Brian Mulroney is being sued by the Manitoba government for libel, libelous words, who claims that the senator failed to report a \$10,000 loan to his first wife. Mulroney and Senator Cagger also owe back taxes to the Quebec and federal governments, and have resisted last year on charges of influence peddling that has been approved by the Crown.

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## QUEBEC AND NATIONAL UNITY

Bouchard and Chrétien Working Together? What at first glance appears patently obvious, on closer reflection, is not so unlikely. As much as the two leaders disagree about Quebec's future, short-term events may compare to push them into common bed. Both parties for ex-

ample, would result only from Reform's failure to deliver a federal budget without cuts to federal social programs will find an ally in the Bloc.

Quebec's Liberals are unlikely to be swayed by good advice from the federal Liberals, and for all the right reasons. Most of the belief that Canada is a country does not work. But he knows that his party will not decisively silence the federal government as long as Quebec remains in the fold. "We will have to act responsibly. But he and his team work as pols suggested that he might run up to 40 of Quebec's 75 seats." To prove that one good of sovereignty is not an illusion." To that end, he said that he would accept the role of leader of the opposition if it is offered by the Governor General.

While the Liberals may be on a war footing against the Bloc, they, too, are more likely to be on than confrontational. Charron's challenge is to show that the federal system can work for Quebecers. By showering the province with federal largesse, Charron would risk leaving the wrath of Manning and Belson, but he would deny Belson the chance to take guff from魁北克省长Dionne. Meanwhile, he would likely try to avoid a fierce debate over Quebec's constitutional future at least until next year's Quebec election. By then, Robert Bourassa's successor as leader of the provincial Liberals will have been in office 10 days to demonstrate his prowess. If anyone follows and current finance minister Daniel Johnson is in charge of the provincial party, he—not Charron—can lead the charge of Canadian Quebec.

#### POLITICAL REFORM

Members of Parliament have lobbied for years on the need to give a sufficient MPs more clout, clip the wings of the Senate, and reduce the perks of power. Little was done. It was only in the eve of this election that the Liberals, for example, and the Tories finally proposed a ban on dual citizenship by which citizens of one country could not be a citizen of another government at the same time.

The arrival of a significant number of Reform MPs may accelerate change. Prime Minister Bélanger now condemns the Canadian bipartisanship in推崇 a robust, if somewhat protectionist, approach to inexpensive meals at the pretentious restaurants. But Belanger's greatest suspect may be on the way as political insiders do their job. As they advise him to restructure the democracy, they could easily create a fiscal body for real parties whose 40% chance to follow their own consequences, or party discipline, on specific issues. That suggests that the next Parliament, whatever its final shape, will be a study of different mutations from the one to which Canadians have grown accustomed.

BRUCE WALLACE with  
MARY JANEK of Toronto  
and NANCY HODGE in Montreal

## THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME



### BACKSTAGE OTTAWA

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

the Bloc Québécois seems set to win at least 50 of Quebec's 75 seats.

Now, consider what that means. The NDP, the only party to the left of the Liberals, will be rendered virtually irrelevant—and possibly also leaderless. Similarly, leadership questions will dog the Tories. Already, potential Tories are discussing what—and who—comes next after the party's impending defeat. Even if Ken Campbell wants to stay on, the party will likely face the sort of internecine warfare that scarred them after their defeat in 1979, and the Liberals after their defeat in 1988.

In the new Parliament, the only leaders with unquestioned authority over their MPs will be Charron, Manning and Lucas. Bouchard Bouchard's every afternoon will be regarded with suspicion as the rest of the country. So will any attempt by others to win his support. The Tories, meanwhile, will have to establish themselves as opposition by moving further to the right of the Liberals—and closer to Belson. And Manning, whose party at one time was more popular than the Tories outside of Quebec, will daily attention if he fails to guarantee of government places to the魁北克省长 and his leader of the federal opposition.

If that is any particle exchange between the two leaders in the new Parliament, it may resemble a miniature version of the old five. More likely, when it is over, relations will be somewhat warmer, but the fiscal proposal obscures a far more fractious—real—divide, sure as the Liberals prepare to end nine years of Tory rule. The direction of political debate is about to take a sharp shift to the right.

Consider the likely outcome of the election. The Liberals, by their own account, are close to but not certain of winning a majority of the 295 seats. The Tories are in freefall after their polling indicated that they will likely win 25 to 40 seats. The New Democratic Party will probably be lower than the 12 seats required for all fiscal responsibility in a party. Reform could win up to 75 seats. If it does, the party will almost certainly be the official opposition. And



Reform's success will push the political debate to the right.

be specified but even more so. As on stage performers, they share many characteristics. As political leaders, they do not; their differences can be deeper than the traditional dispute over how to run Quebec. Soon, the bigger fight over the future ideological direction of all of Canada will begin.

PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR; TOP: MICHAEL BOURGEOIS/IMAGE BANK; BOTTOM: PHOTOFEST



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# The crusader

## Preston Manning gets set to take on Ottawa

according to his opponents last week. Canadians might have expected Reform Leader Preston Manning to shout from the rooftops. In spring after speech, representatives of Canada's three traditional parties portrayed Manning as a man here on putting median, bashing nonethinkers and nonbelievers, rubbishing senior citizens of their pensions and locking Quebec out of Confederation. Whistler Conservative MP Dorothy Baldwin struck one of the loudest blows when she suggested that Manning, an evangelical Christian, secretly wants to impose his dogmatic religious views on the nation. But to Manning's older and closer friends, those allegations were both predictable and preposterous. Predictable, because Manning's party has emerged as a serious competitor in the Oct. 25 election. Preposterous, because Manning's policies are nothing like the mean-spirited ideologies depicted by his critics. "That's not the way," says Dennis Edmonson, a consultant from British Columbia, a Manning admirer for more than 20 years. "That's just what they say."

Political relations between Manning and his colleagues in the old guard political establishment, at the very least, are however, the party has attracted an unknown number of extremists whose pronouncements can doubt no Reform's credibility. One of the most embarrassing cases came last week when John Beck, a Reform candidate in the Toronto-area riding of York Centre, delivered a tirade against immigrants in an interview with a conservative newspaper. "I feel we have lost control of our country," Beck later told *The Toronto Star*. "It seems to be predominantly Jewish people who are running this country."

As he has done several times since helping to found the Reform party in 1987, Manning moved quickly to distance himself from the controversy. Less than an hour after hearing about Beck's remarks, Manning dropped him as a candidate. But the incident prompted a spike of interest, suddenly when Manning could least afford it. Within 24 hours, Conservative strategists were phoning reporters with information about another Reform candidate who had publicly poked about family values. Said Tory worker Michael Coates: "Preston Manning has given a false impression of what the Reform party is all about. In many cases their candidates are down right wacky."

As a predominantly white middle-class protest movement, the Reform party has indeed attracted more than its share of loose canons. Manning, for one, says that new parties by definition

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Manning; and with wife Sandra (left) deeply relaxed

"tend to attract offensive people—those who want to get rid of all the Asians or whatever," he adds. "There are still lots of people in the party who are total right-wing wackos. They're in the minority, but people want to paint the Reform party that way." He Manning has no fear that borders. "In Ottawa a Reform caucus would be at the centre of the national media glare and Manning could find that frightening. But it would be a major accomplishment."

In fact, Manning remains the main defence against charges that the party is intolerant. Friends, relatives and associates describe him as a generous man who treats people with respect, regardless of their race, religion or beliefs. As a private consultant, he's worked for more than a decade for some of Alberta's largest energy companies. But he also helped to create one of Edmonton's first überhaupt care centres and now has projects in northern Alberta. Beginning in the 1980s, Manning developed a political theory, which attempts to "neutralize" what attempts to sold free-enterprise principles. "On the basis of an economic theory, Manning will speak as much to Thérèse Douglas as to Ronald Reagan. But in Ottawa last week when he held a campaign rally in Cambridge, Ont., that's where he's largely at the N.Y.T. The Canadian Parliament now has a more conscious Reform party. That's what's different. People and universities now are more willing to begin to see what can happen if we're to reform these."

It's this politics that indicate Manning is destined to be a major force in Ottawa after Oct. 25. His influence will likely be felt in the leadership says Manning has already stated that his first priority would be to continue parliamentary traditions so that opposition members can deliver money bills without losing control of the government. The party would then push for other reforms including giving voters the right to recall MPs who fail to represent their views. In keeping with the party's call for tough action on the deficit, Manning also promised last week to raise four questions every time the new government tables a spending proposal: "Is it necessary? How much is it going to cost? Where are you going to get the money? Why don't we spend less?"

That list of questioning will irk Manning. A management consultant by profession, a systems analyst and policy wonk by inclination, he distrusts anything with a major role in life. Says Diane Abbotson, founding chairman of Reform and the party's candidate in Calgary North: "He's a very good at articulating options and helping people to reach conclusions." Whether that approach will work in the partisan heat of the House of Commons is unclear. But even there, says Abbotson, Manning will try to reach out to Canadians who have lost faith in the system. "He won't compromise the type of solving and working that goes on now."

Manning is also unlikely to tolerate members of his caucus or party whose behaviour serves to discredit his cause. It is a lesson—one of many—that Manning learned by watching his father govern Alberta for a quarter of a century. And as almost everyone who knows the Reform leader agrees, Manning is very much his father's son.

Preston Manning was born in Edmonton in June, 1945, just a year before his father became Alberta's second and second Credit provider. Ernest Manning inherited that office from William (Bill) Albertart, a charismatic Baptist preacher who had taken the Social Credit from obscurity to a landslide victory in 1935. After Albertart's death in 1943, Ernest Manning sought to root out dark family forces in the party—including an anti-Semitic element that started the Degeneration, a Jewish "faction." To a large degree the former reverend—a fact acknowledged when the elderly Manning was a

By Eric Bélanger

**Eric Bélanger** has been a *Maclean's* reporter since 1982. In place of some of the early stories, some controversial stories, Ernest Manning offered Albertans a honest and frank government that restored largely immune from scandal. When of expenses accused in during the 1950s and 1960s, Manning took it up as an issue of honesty at hospitals, schools and services for the disabled. But as a child of the Depression, he refused to allow his government to spend beyond its means. For him, as for his son, debt was a last-ditch word.

Eric was the second of two sons born in Ernest and his wife, Muriel. The older boy, Kraft, born in 1948, suffered a lack of oxygen at birth, which destroyed part of his brain. Eric has died in 1988. Kraft suffered from epileptic seizures and arrested mental development. Unable to afford his son's medical care, Manning's wife, Muriel, had to sell their home and live in a series of small apartments, including a one-room school on New York's East Side. These efforts sometimes put a considerable financial strain on the family.

When Preston was 12, the family moved to a 30-acre dairy farm on the northeastern edge of Edmonton. Although a forester managed the farm during the work, the premier could often be seen on weekends driving a tractor or mowing the cows. Preston attended nearby St. Peter's High School, where he successfully excelled in several sports. In 1957-58, his yearbook photograph reveals him to be the chosen and acclaimed member of the school's football team. As before, the man who now pledges to eliminate Canada's deficit within three years, he served as treasurer of the student body. He also delivered the voluntary address for his graduating class in 1960. In it, he compared his generation to the launching of a satellite which can only achieve its purpose by resisting the forces that attempt to pull it down. "The extent to which the graduates will bear their true purpose in life," he declared, "will be the impact of their influence on the course of history for the good and welfare of mankind."

Manning's former teachers and school chums recall him as an unassuming and likable young man. "You would have never known that he was the premier's son," says Marlene Spies, who was Manning's Grade 8 music and French teacher. Spies, who still lives in a farmhouse near the school she attended, the wife of a high school teacher, she remembers during her 20-year teaching career, Manning "was not full of himself. He had a kindness about him and never cut a

corner." A former schoolmate, Edward Wilkins, confirms that view. During his frequent visits to the premier's house, he says, the family "never put on airs." Although the premier was famous for his weekly radio program, *Back To The Bible Now*, there were few signs of religion in the house apart from evening prayer and the odd theological discussion. "The Christianity was there," says Wilkins, "but it was not overt."

As she leads a tour of her home under a sun-drenched Prairie sky, Manning's

young Calgary lawyer named Peter Lougheed. They also provided the horsepower behind a 1967 white paper on social policy that spurred several progressive initiatives including a broad social program for natives and a Crown corporation that recruited young people for community service jobs.

Such programs are probably lacking from the Reform agenda. But according to his son (and friend), the focus is not even Manning his reverence to the political right. "If we had the means, I'm sure he'd be doing these kind of things," Mannion says. "But his commitment is to get the deficit under control." Adds Schmid, who runs an environmental lobbying firm, "Preston is focused on the whole issue of helping the environment. But he also realizes that if you are not creating wealth, you cannot have a high-level civilization."

Both men are Reform supporters, although they hold no official position. And they do acknowledge that their support has a lot to do with their faith in Manning, who—despite all the talk about Reform being a "grassroots party"—has shaped practically every Reform policy. "As long as Preston is leader, it's great," says Schmid. "But if he was gone, I'd be worried about who was going to replace him."

**A** s he demonstrated in the recent televised debate, Manning can marshal his arguments with one wit and precision. In part, that is due to a lifetime of research. While still in his teens, he devoured Will and Ariel Durant's *Our Times*: The Story of Civilization. He also read the earlier Revised Statutes of Alberta and the Revised Statutes of Canada. He continued to study seriously at the University of Alberta—he earned a B.Sc. in economics in 1954—and in his two decades as a management consultant, he is an American Civil War buff and an authority on Northern finance. He has also studied every western Canadian protest movement going back to Louis Riel.

Offering his bushels of data to the Sunday, who was a 30-year-old Alberta student when she met Manning in 1969. They enjoyed the following year. "Sandra is kept of his spiced and long," says Schmid. "She has educated herself mainly in finance, law, her business and their five children, ranging in age from 20 to 12. Andra, Arrell, Mary, Jo, Nathan and David. In retrospect, she says, it is paying a political price, compensating for her husband's rejections—albeit reluctantly—of the growing mass Social Credit machinery with the provincial Conservatives, then led by a

unprincipled senator at First Alliance Church in Calgary, where they moved after Béthard's creation. Like his father, Manning is lowkey about his religious beliefs. In today's secular society, he says, people often fear that politicians with strong religious views will try to impose them on others. In Béthard's case, he contends, that cannot happen, because very few remain accountable to their constituents. "But I do think that Canadians are correct to ask questions about how our values relate to public policy," he says. "The more you have to worry about who the man who says 'I have no values and there are none'—"

Manning is rarely shy about defending his party's policies and the values they reflect. In the face of Béthard's anti-immigrant remarks

last week, Manning stood firm behind his party's proposal to reduce the number of immigrants from about 350,000 a year to between 160,000 and 150,000. Manning maintains that Canada's immigration levels should be based on economic needs—and that it is highest at a time of high unemployment to reduce the number of new immigrants. He insists that the policy is really neutral—repeatedly noting, for example, that highly skilled Asians would be favored under Reform's guidelines. It is a position that appeals many libertarians and minority spokesmen, but strikes many others as un-American—or at least defensive.

What appeals most to Canadians—and, by his own account, Manning himself—is the sympathetic portrayal of people like Beck

who view the Béthard leader as a kindred spirit. Speaking at a churchically luncheon last week, Manning said last week that what Béthard has done is people "who have racist views and dismiss them and tell their son some position where they can speak on a public platform." He urged Canadians to complain if they feel that any of his other candidates are bigots. "Some of those other guys in York Central [had even made one single phone call to our office we could have gotten on it sooner]," he said. "Call it a popular damage control. If it works, Manning will be succeeded closer to revealing political history when voters cast their ballots next week."

**BRUCE BERGMAN** of Edmonton



The Reform party leader confronted by a voter in Calgary last winter criticizes him that the party is a haven for racists

former Dutch teacher—she agrees that he excelled at that subject, although he now speaks hardly a word of French—admittedly that the picture she paints of Manning as a rogues' gallery. "It could be that he's too good to be true," Spies says.

**D**iane Manning laughs heartily when told of Spies's remark. "People keep saying to me, 'Yeah, I know he's smart, but I haven't seen that yet and I've known him for a long time.'"

On a quiet evening last week, Manning was relaxing in a downtown Edmonton residence with both Schmid, who first met Preston Manning when he signed on as a policy adviser to his father in 1985, Schmid, who was 22 at the time, was brought in to work on a number of social policy and sequencing initiatives. The two old friends probably a step removed to the testifying Shad who, like friends and family say, never seems to produce word. Over dinner the two share family and their conversations are peppered with witty language.

In 1987, Manning, Béthard and Schmid were part of an unofficial think-tank who called themselves "social conservatives." For a time, they engaged in clandestine negotiations—albeit reluctantly—over Manning's influence in the rising of Calgary Southwest. The Manning's share a deep religious faith. When his wife leaves church, the couple attend

Mass at St. Peter's. Manning can marshal his arguments with one wit and precision. In part, that is due to a lifetime of research. While still in his teens, he devoured Will and Ariel Durant's *Our Times*: The Story of Civilization. He also read the earlier Revised Statutes of Alberta and the Revised Statutes of Canada. He continued to study seriously at the University of Alberta—he earned a B.Sc. in economics in 1954—and in his two decades as a management consultant, he is an American Civil War buff and an authority on Northern finance. He has also studied every western Canadian protest movement going back to Louis Riel.

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## A GALLERY OF REFORM CANDIDATES

### Herb Gravel

AGE: 59

OCCUPATION: Professor of economics, Simon Fraser University  
BORN: Capilano, B.C.  
SPOUSE: B.C. (conservative)  
CHILDREN: Michael (deaf)



Herb Gravel

AGE: 51

OCCUPATION: Professor of economics, Simon Fraser University  
BORN: Capilano, B.C.  
SPOUSE: Diane (conservative)  
CHILDREN: Michael (deaf)

### Deborah Gray

AGE: 41

OCCUPATION: High-school teacher  
BORN: Beaver River, Alta.



Deborah Gray

AGE: 34

OCCUPATION: Political adviser  
BORN: Red Deer, Alta.  
SPOUSE: Jim Hawley, Conservative

**C**urrently the Reform party's only MP, Gray was born in Vancouver and educated at Belmont Bible Institute in Fort Macleod, B.C. She taught high school for a decade before winning a 1989 by-election. She is known to some of her Reform colleagues as the party's "mama" in Alberta. "The excitement has spread across the country," she says. "The East really wants us. And that means the East and West are now together. Certainly I won't be lonely any longer down there in the House of Commons."

With her Commons experience, Gray is a favorite to become House leader. Earlier this year, she told a Calgary audience that, while she does not consider herself a Conservative, she appreciates what the party's movement has done to break down barriers that may have hampered her from running office.

Herper used to work for the man who is now his principal rival, MP Jim Hawley. After two years as Hawley's executive assistant in Ottawa during the mid-1980s, he returned to Calgary, disillusioned with the Tories' commitment to deficit control. In 1987, he and about 300 like-minded conservatives met in Vancouver and drew up plans for the new party. Although Harper says that he "had reservations" about Manning's choice of ex-Liberals Wes Anderson to run the first campaign, he remains a key adviser. "There are lots of challenges going to Ottawa," he says. "Our MP will be a steep learning curve."



Herb Gravel



Deborah Gray

# The new palace guard

CAMPAGNE  
'93

It was the night of June 16, 1884, and disappointed Cheyenne was sitting alone in his loss that day in John Turner's office, ready to receive Pierre Trudeau, as Ottawa's chief. Cheyenne supporters gathered for a while, many in tears. Others later demonstrated the "triumph" of Cheyenne's Quebec cabinet and men such as Francis Fox and André Guérin both had supported James, who defeated Cheyenne by 454 votes. But now the Cheyenne camp's despair was due, characteristic figure stood apart, calmly greeting new arrivals at the front door of the hotel—and making no effort to hide his feelings of "despair and desolation," said Cheyenne's long-time friend Eddie Goldenberg, the first meeting of the 49 Club.

It was a greeting that any diehard Liberal could understand in 1989 after Turner's first run for the leadership. Friends formed "the 150 Club"—a reference to the number of Turner supporters on the final ballot at that convention (even on the night of Chretien's defeat, Guidolin was looking forward to the next time his friend would have a shot at becoming prime minister).

Nine years later, Chernin appears poised to achieve that aim—and Goldfarb is sold by his side. The 45-year-old Mayor of Brooklyn



Christien and Goldemberg  
regular access to the house

other than his wife in the morning, and the last person he talks to at night? Lopatin runs deeply in Chretien, so many of the people who will accompany him will move into the Prime Minister's Office. Durocher will be language friend. A disappearance number will be Quartermaster—and, more specifically, anglophone Montreal. A survey of Chretien's backroom players and their associates.

As one aide puts it: 'We are not exactly representative of the country at large'

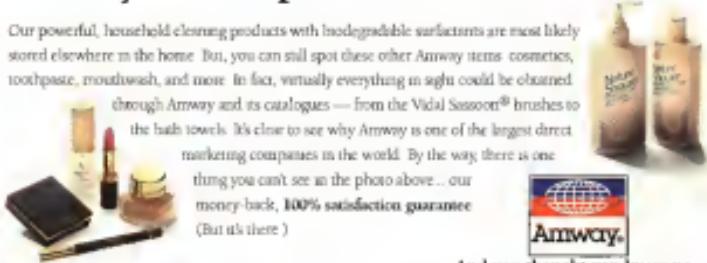
- Despite his close relations with Chretien, Goldenberg would be an unlikely choice for 1993 chief of staff. Many Liberals complain that he is overly protective of Chretien, shielding him from constructive criticism. He was also considered an uneven administrator as Chretien's principal secretary from 1986 to 1992. Instead, Goldenberg will likely become a senior adviser. His duties would be largely undefined but he would have regular access to the prime minister—who

prier to return to Montreal and probably would not take the job unless persuaded by Christie. Said one friend: "John does not want it, but he would be forced to say yes to a prime minister." • The other possibilities for chief of staff are Alain Lortie, a Montreal-born lawyer now based in Ottawa, and David Zisman, 45, an other native Montrealer who is a former director of the faculty of administration at the University of Ottawa. Lortie worked as executive assistant to Trudeau and has known him since his days in Trudeau's law office.



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Cheney for more than 20 years. Like Cheney, he is fond of emphasizing the need to uphold integrity in politics. But he has worked only sporadically for the party in the last three years, and some Liberals say Bush probably is not well enough in touch with the grassroots to be comfortable in the job. Zorowicki, who now works as a consultant, has been a senior policy adviser in three federal departments. If the Liberals take power after Oct. 26, Zorowicki will head the Education Dept. Bush would also likely play a key role.

•John Peltier, 48, is Christie's oldest friend in politics. The two went to high school together and were roommates in 2001 when Peltier became an aide of staff. A former member of Christie's City Council

lour has an oily polished charm that evades the instantly of a street fighter. He is now trying to be ruling at Laugier against Finance Minister Gérard Longuet, before anyone dreams to be defeated by the Bloc Québécois, *qui* Christian would still want him in Ottawa, but Péladeau would probably prefer to stay in Quebec or become an *opposition*.

- Chiara Heschel: had a biology career at Ontario college transfer under David Pearson. Belief that she headed the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. Worked to work for Clarity as a policy

## INDECENT EXPOSURES

Usually, the fact that a political party's campaign ads are replaced without charge on television networks would be cause for jubilation among members of that party. Not so last week for the Progressive Conservatives, after the launch and almost immediate cancellation of the most brutal personal attack ads in Canadian history. In the first case, appearing on Oct. 14, the announcer asked: "Is this a prime minister?" The question was accompanied by a series of attacks on Prime Minister Jean Chrétien that would have been eliminated from a family album: eyes closed, dead looks, close-ups of a cataracted eye, the result of a birth defect. Less than a day later, after an explosion of complaints from Seniors voters and many Tory candidates, Press Minister Alan Campbell cancelled the ad.

Almost as striking as the Tories' desperation in reviving the ads was the gulf it revealed between the senior ranks of the party and its grassroots. Many candidates and campaign workers examined coverage over what they saw as a gross violation of political ethics—and human decency. At Tory headquarters in Ottawa, there was a sense that the party had taken the wrong road and that the campaign would disintegrate. Tory hopeful Marc Muzzin of North Bay, Ont., declared the Sedition Bill, as the ad was called,

in 1989, she was established as one of the party's brightest and most active thinkers. She and Paul Martin argued the election platform. In the 1990s, she would probably play a major role, probably as an adviser. Bonin in Czech, a former diplomat, is fluent and fluent in several languages. His wife, a cartoonist, is a churchgoer. Joyce Burchmore, one among the few women in Chretien's inner circle, is from Malott, QC, and is known as one of the founders of the English-language advocacy group *Altijoue Quebec*. A close friend of Goldsmith, she served as a go-between with the Conservative during the March 1993 constitutional negotiations. Her son probably attended the University of

7

pre-war writer to former Toronto mayor Art Eggleton. Danzle makes a sharp wit with an unusually patient spirit he came up with the job that Campbell is "McKinley in a skirt."

• Jean Carle, 31, has been with Chester for most of the last two years, serving as personal assistant and logistics organizer. In the past, he would use Chester's "extensive

of many when he believed the site as "nonsensical, man-spoiled and destructive." The senior Tories involved were more sanguine. Campbell herself, along with campaign chairman John Tory, reacted as though the ads were merely a friendly campaign tactic. She apologized only after repeated questioning by reporters, even then, she suggested that Coalition had "misinterpreted" the intent of the site. Although the debate among the communists before they struck a senior campaign official said that the site was out of their control and had ignored the risk of going after Clinton on the issue of compulsion. Tory was more than repented. He relented to say the ads were a mistake and suggested, without any apparent embarrassment, that they never had been intended to be seen.

keeper, largely eschewing access to him.  
• Gordon Ashworth, 45, has deep roots in the Liberal party, although his relatives within the Christian right are not particularly close. Ashworth, the poet's director in the 2004 campaign, was a senior wife to Ontario's Peterson and was 2008 and remained a federal politician as the Liberal representative on the Yes committee; in last year's constitutional referendum, he told Christians brevity was key. Ashworth may be in charge of digging in government opponents.  
• Michael Bohnet, 43, a Culver native, is a partner of Conservative lobbyist Bill Topp and Barry Gray in the Taxable Strategy Group, an Ottawa lobbying firm. Although he worked for Paul Martin in the 2006 leadership campaign, he's since been recruited into Christian's inner circle and part because the leaders' adherents recognize their need for input from non-Quebecers. John is the group's chief negotiator with the religious networks for the leader's debates, but he will almost certainly return to his

Chretien's camp, though aside, is remarkably likeable. It contains a group of largely young and dynamic leaders, many of whom have been trained in the U.S. and Canada. Consider, if you like, "We are not exactly representative of the country at large." If the Liberals win the election, Chretien will have to learn it at once, and accommodate to selected spanners and wrenches from other sources. As things stand, the Liberal's campaign has brought them to the brink of power. Getting them has born a bitter price in itself, deciding what to do with that power will be another.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH and S.  
JAMESON and ROICE HALLACE on 70  
and R. KATIE, 10027291 in *Continued, 1*

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**Q** If your policies were adopted, when would the unemployment rate, now 11.2 per cent, fall below 10 per cent?

**CHRISTIE:** Nobody can give you a date. We'll work to reduce unemployment as rapidly as possible. And as long as somebody wants to work, we have to try to get that person a job.

**CAMPBELL:** I can't make that prediction. But I would think that by the year 2000, we should be looking at an unemployment rate of much less than 10 per cent—in other words, two or three per cent lower.

**MANNING:** That can't be predicted, ideally, by the end of a year and a half or two years, the private sector should get the idea that years clearly stress about controlling the deficit. The lesson to do that, the sooner we will feel the stimulative effect.

**BOUCHARD:** I am not prepared to set time frames. I think we should do the best we can to create jobs now, to give people hope.

**INCLINGER:** In our plan, we see a nine-percent unemployment rate by 1995. By 1998, it would be down to about 7.5 percent. It is not something that we like, but we have tried to be realistic.

**Q** Would you make it illegal for private citizens to own handguns?

**CHRISTIE:** It is one of our objectives to make it more difficult, but a committee will evaluate if it is permissible and under which circumstances.

**CAMPBELL:** There are some activities—the sport of paint shooting, for example—where ownership is acceptable. I would like to see possession limited even more than it now is.

**MANNING:** No, I think that's going too far. What we'd like to do is stiffen the penalties for the criminal use of firearms.

**BOUCHARD:** It would be easy to convince me to do that. Maybe some private citizens with very particular needs would be able to have them.

**INCLINGER:** The whole handgun legislation definitely should be reviewed by parliamentary committee.



Morning: an address of the budget and balanced



McLaughlin: you have to get unemployment down

**Q** How soon should constitutional talks resume?

**CHRISTIE:** It is not part of my agenda. At this time, the agenda is very clear: it's job creation and economic growth. At this time, it would be counterproductive to reopen the Constitution. When the time will be right for that, we'll proceed. It's not part of our priorities.

**CAMPBELL:** Only when they have a realistic prospect of success. They would not have it now.

**MANNING:** As soon as the public is prepared to entertain major discussions. It could be forced by Quebec making some decision with respect to its future. But I think the public—meaning Quebecers—would tend to defer the discussions rather than accelerate them.

**BOUCHARD:** They should not resume because there is nothing to do. Everything has been said; everything has been done. The conclusion is that Canada is important when it comes to redressing its Constitution. That is why many disappointed Quebecers will wait for the Bloc.

**INCLINGER:** Anybody who proposed a five-round constitutional track at this point would be put in their place—early, right?—by the Canadian electorate. Right now, we have to address the economic issues.

**Q** If Quebecers voted in a referendum for sovereignty and you considered the wording or the process unsatisfactory, would you consider holding a federal referendum?

**CHRISTIE:** I don't want to speculate on that. It's two 'ifs' in a row. There will be an election in Quebec. And there will be a referendum. I will work very hard to make sure that we never have to have a referendum. I will be working to make sure the federalists win the next provincial election.

**CAMPBELL:** That is a hypothetical situation. To tell someone to answer off the top of their head without the chance to reflect trivializes the issue.

**MANNING:** I would consider it. But there are steps that could and should be taken first. I believe there's a sequel for a new nationalism going on outside Quebec that has to be communicated to Quebec so that they see their options are not the current federation or separation, but rather new federalist versus aspiration.

**BOUCHARD:** I would find a federal referendum illegitimate. The only legitimate referendum will be the Quebec referendum. You can ask Quebecers to word the question in a clear and decisive way. Something like: Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign?

**INCLINGER:** I would not even speculate on what might happen in Quebec.

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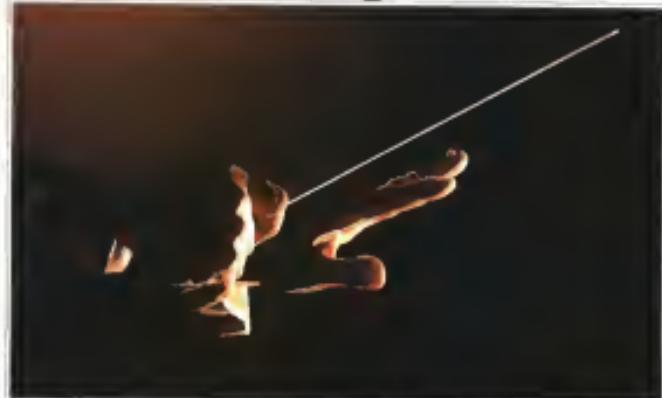
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# DEATH AND DEFIANCE



**ASSIGNMENT**  
BARRY CADE  
IN HAITI

**H**e is young, nervous and, unlike most other members of the police force in Haiti's capital city, armed with up-to-date equipment—an 18-carat gold assault rifle. The weapon and the dirt-olive uniform suggest that he is a member of the force's newly formed anti-riot, motorcav unit in blood-red berets. But for Police Minister Guy Malary it is its usefulness. "We" he shouts with a rising wave of the Gulf of the sun-kissed lot of journalists gathered near the blue Toyota Landcruiser. The vehicles are on site on a downtown street not far from the Sante-Coeur church. The sun was due to disappear behind the city's high roof and rooftops. There was blood standing on the ground where a man had earlier, the court-martialed Justice Minister Guy Malary had been laid out with those of his beret and beret "Allied" the policeman slumped again. "Go" Malory agrees with the nervous young cop.

Haiti already reeked by three weeks of military-sponsored violence, because a much more dangerous place has work in the wake of the murder of the 58-year-old Malary, a US-trained lawyer, former World Bank official and key confidante of ousted president Jean-Claude "Baby" Doc" Duvalier. The last standing bags of a US-backed settlement to return Aristide to power and end military rule almost certainly died with the justice minister. It was Malary who would have overseen the restructuring of the Haitian police, a task that was to have been carried out by a 265-member international force led and largely manned by volunteers from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. "It may not be the end of the police process but it certainly looks that way," commented one damaged diplomat as the news of Malary's death circulated around Port-au-Prince.

Only hours before the justice minister was



gunned down on Oct. 14, in fact, the government that began last July with a US-segregated accord suffered another setback when the elusive contingent of Canadian police suddenly pulled out of Haiti. They were recalled when the United Nations pulled the plug on its peacekeeping operation on the grounds that the Haitian military was not living up to its commitment to cooperate. The UN Marines abandoned their headquarters at the Hotel Chambon at the fortified hills overlooking Port-au-Prince at 7 in the morning. Led by RCMP Sgt. Jean-Jacques Lemoine, they moved quietly in a convoy of rented vehicles to the airport, where a Canadian Armed Forces aircraft landed shortly before it was

Two hours later, the Marines were gone, leaving behind a local population already frightened by the departing career in the work of the US navy transport ship Harlan County, carrying about 200 American and Canadian military engineers, construction workers and marines who were prevented from docking by hundreds of armed and angry protesters. The withdrawal also left a resentful train of international human rights observers from the United Nations and the Organization of American States. "For the first time in history, it seems that soldiers left behind the women and children," was the bitter comment of one female American observer on the 200-member train, known as the International Civil Mission (ICM).

Faced with the departure of both the soldiers and the police, the masses began the process of pulling out of Haiti. The 100,000 soldiers, soldiers' families and their dependents returned to Port-au-Prince as far as the neighboring Dominican Republic. Local news sources said that two groups that support the Haitian military were still at all while the regime to leave immediately.

The collapse of the international efforts to restore peace and order left Haiti's long-suffering and impoverished population to face hardships that include the reorganization of a 5,000-strong police, endorsed by six American warships that US President Bill Clinton dispatched to the region. The people will also invariably suffer the depredations of the right-hand men of Haitian military officers and their business backers who have been ravaging the country since Aristide was overthrown in 1989. Ever since the special representative of the UN, Caputo brokered an accord on July 3 that would have seen top military and police officials resign and Aristide returned to the island

on Oct. 26, those soldiers and bureaucrats have been working to undermine the agreement by means of a cold-blooded campaign of terror.

Malary was not the first to be. Some have perished in similar fashion in the last three months. Late Malary, most have been murdered by the armed coalitions known as "associations," the most notorious descendants of the dreaded Tonton Macoutes of dictator François "Papa Doc" Duvalier's era. Unlike the unknown Malary, however, their bodies have usually been dumped somewhere on the north ridge of the city.

With a few exceptions, the precise identity of those behind the recent terror campaign is not clear. Last week, Caputo had the Marine on who he described as "two or three hundred thugs, false nationalists, racists." Caputo, a former Argentine foreign minister, singled out army commander Lt. Gen. Raoul Cédras and Port-au-Prince police Chief Lt.-Col. Michel Fransais as the two individuals most likely responsible. Of the two, the 36-year-old Fransais who is more feared. "He's the spider at the center of the web," said one Haitian businessman after being given revealing assurances that his name would not be used.

Known on Port-au-Prince's jangam streets as "Sweet Mickey," Fransais is a 36-year-old career army officer. Unlike the majority of the lighter-skinned officer class, he is black and comes from poor roots. His father was a sergeant in Papa Doc's presidential guard, later elevated to the rank of major. Fransais has since risen and family background account for his popularity among the army's rank and file.

Fransais' supporters, some members of his family and community, at least 100,000 in number, reportedly moved to Port-au-Prince as far as the neighboring Dominican Republic. Local news sources said that two groups that support the Haitian military were still at all while the regime to leave immediately.

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He remained from his post in charge of the police and the just and stable justice is gradually agreed to be the key to any long-term solution. But Fransais has made it clear that he has no intention to comply. "Ten Haitians," he declared last week in one of his rare public pronouncements. "I have chosen to remain and die in my country." It may be a boast—but then again, it may not. □

## World Notes

### PEACEKEEPERS FREED

Seven soldiers freed two captured members of the UN peacekeeping force at what remained a placid Mohamed Farah. Ahmed added a peace gesture. President Bill Clinton said last "no deal" were made for the release of US helicopter pilot Michael Durant and Nigerian soldier Umar Shuaib. But he expressed willingness to find a diplomatic solution to the violent showdown with Ahmed, who is wanted for the deaths of 28 Palestinian peacekeepers.

### PALESTINIAN AUTONOMY

As the historic PLO-Israel peace agreement came into effect on Oct. 25, representatives from the two sides met in Egypt to make detailed preparations for Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jenin. Jenin was the so-called Ram-Jenin First pilot as a test of how Palestinians will exercise autonomy. For Palestinians, it provides quick, though limited, empowerment.

### DURITY VERDICTS

A South African Supreme Court judge sentenced two right-wing whites to death for the murder last April of Chris Hani, the black leader of the South African Communist Party. Palash international lawyer Walter Sisulu, 38, then with a gas pistol fired by fire-spouting Conservative Party politician Olvier Derby Lewis, 27. The court acquitted a third defendant, Derby-Lewis' wife, Goye, 34.

### THAT'S AMORE

Rabat Defense Minister Fahed Pibbes suspended Gen. Francis Maitre, 50, Maitre's former mentor charged that he was one of 18 senior officers planning to stage an early coup next spring. Maitre denied the allegation and has accused his sometime mentor of stealing \$625,000 from him.

### PANAMERICA DEFUNTS

Andean Petroleum, prime minister of Guyana from 1981 to 1989 until scandals drove him from office, was restored to power when his Socialist party was 37.1 percent of the 300-seat parliament.

### THE 'TUFFIE' SHOWS

Washington police arrested 77 migrants in connection with an explosion that rocked Detroit last weekend. Police said that "yuppies" planted the bombs to spur financial markets and real profits by buying shares at depressed prices.



Playclothes officer overseeing a foster of geopoint police-enforced order

11551

## Crime and punishment

**S**trike crime disrupted dramatically in Missouri but the pace of loot and gang violence went through the roof. Those two seemingly unrelated developments followed from a single cause and were Missouri Governor Blaine Yostin's tightening grip on the capital. Funds from his crushing victory in Oct 4 over conservative opponents necessitated emergency, Yostin allowed local authorities to use state-of-emergency powers to deal with incidents of crime. Missouri police reported up through thousands of Georgians, Texans and Kentuckians—darker-skinned people blinded by many Rantists for the capital's many crime rates. Clogging the蹲居的 illegal residents officials had then acted more and more heding roads to their Caucasian homelands. While authorities initially denied that the crackdown was primarily directed against non-Blaines, it swept up even Caucasians who claimed to have sold Missouri residence permits. And among the so-called perverts were many women who supply local men with southern produce. That caused serious food shortages and sent prices skyrocketing. Groceries in midstate, tripled in cost to \$100 per month (about \$675 per kilogram)—about 12 or 15 per cent of the average

Muscovites  
applaud as  
the police  
get tough

Rukhin rejected suggestions that the antisemitic campaign was specifically directed against Gaidarovskiy or was a criminal, no matter what his nationality, "he and I and other police violence so that the victims were part of Oleg's gang," he said. "The mark of the criminal is that it has overlapped with the state of emergency in Moscow and has resulted in the detention, they say of more than 60,000 known criminals. According to Rukhin, another 50,000 people could not give the right to live in Moscow had been forcibly placed on various places, mainly for Gaidarovskiy and his family and friends. He estimated that the champion and his entourage of 20,000 people leave "voluntarily." The major according to police a local Galina Ulubayeva. "They feel guilty for their wrongs and have decided to escape from the city."

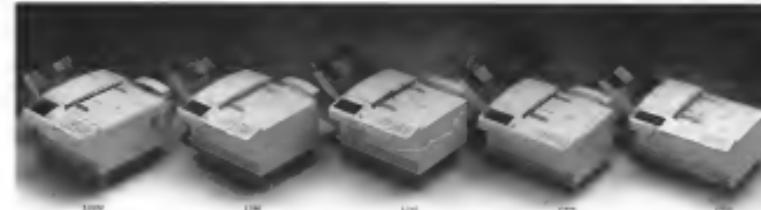
To be sure, many Moscowites share her views. They distinguishly refer to Chechens, Dagestanis and other ethnic minorities from the Caucasus region along Russia's southern border as *chervi* or *blackheads* and regard them as best as dishonest traders—but mainly as dangerous criminals. Said Anatoly Serebryakov, a Moscow police spokesman: "Most of the people from the Caucasus are thieves and robbers. They cannot be trusted, the citizens of the city added. The Russian news agency, *Itar-Tass*, "Moscovites are greatly annoyed with the fact that the so-called Caucasian traders who are widely believed to be the main source of crime in Moscow have been established from the capital."

In many Georgia, Armenian-Armenians of some of those refugees from Iran saw their landlords within weeks in the crop and food markets related stories of robbery and beatings, the hands of police. At Hawthorne, Moscow's Chinese community market lost work, on two Armenian bakers operated that as vegetable stalls instead of the stores who normally baked produce there. Said one Armenian who should not be easily identified: "The police have the power to do whatever they want. The police have the power to do whatever they want. Moscow before they took over Armenia andzerbaijan." Those accounts of abuse and discrimination have driven some protests from former Soviet republics. Zaliddin Mamashov, a lawyer with Armenia's embassy in Moscow, "Russia has the right to impose order in its states, but it does not exceed violence, violating the human rights of innocent people." In its handling of ethnic minorities to democracy. Russia seemed to take a giant step backward.

解説の略語と略號—33—

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# A FOREIGN AFFAIR

## CANADA'S CREDITORS ABROAD KEEP A CLOSE EYE ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCENE AS THE FEDERAL ELECTION APPROACHES

### CAMPAGNE '93 ISSUES

They are not registered to vote in the approaching federal election. Neither do they reside in Canada or directly own Canadian assets. But Canada has a critical new political constituency—foreign creditors who are worried about the interests of that group. So far this year, by dumping their Canadian debt holdings, foreign creditors can force down the Canadian dollar and push up domestic interest rates. Indeed, the class of nervous offshore investors has already been acutely felt in Canadian markets over the past two months. Until the Liberal party recently pulled out on a clear lead in public opinion polls, questioning about the election's outcome, the electrons descended on the Canadian dollar in currency markets. In mid-July, the dollar depreciated by 4.2 percent and the interest rate spread between Canadian and U.S. bonds widened sharply, causing a more costly for Canada to compete for global capital. External pressure was also apparent following remarks by Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien about his plans to review the role of the Bank of Canada and, as a consequence, John Crow. That name was quickly dropped after a flurry of negative foreign commentary. "We matter what the outcome of the election, the deficit ensures that no party can any more 'get fancy,'" says Karen Davis, a vice-president of Merrill Lynch Inc. in New York City.

The announcement last week that Ottawa's estimates for the first five months of the year lagged behind those recorded a year earlier brought the long-simmering scrutiny of Canada's shabby political landscape. Despite reduced spending levels, the deficit federal government asset operations from April 1 to Aug. 31 was \$18.6 billion, up \$2 billion from the same period in



### WHERE OTTAWA OWES ITS DEBT

Total: \$374.6 billion  
(The federal debt, in bonds and short-term money market borrowing)

1992. Concern about Ottawa's ability to generate higher revenues to repay the deficit also surfaced last week, along with signs that Canada's export-led recovery may be flagging. Statistics Canada reported overall imports at \$103 billion and a \$47 million or 3.7 percent decline in exports for August to \$119.9 billion. As a result, Canada's trade surplus fell to \$20 billion—the lowest since July 1989. "Canada deficit is the number 1 issue for foreign money," notes Paul Thrush, director of fixed income investments at Baring Asset Management in London. "People are paying very close attention to it and to what the politicians—and the numbers—are saying."

Still, the higher deficit figure was caused relatively little concern, as the Canadian dollar remained strong enough for the Bank of Canada to lower its benchmark interest rate to 4.87 per cent from 4.95 per cent. According to observers, that entry is partly attributable to the fact that after weeks of dramatic volatility, a pull-back in August led to a further slowdown in the foreign exchange market.

The Bank of Canada had enough popular support to form a majority government. Although the Liberal party is plagued by a history of relatively aggressive public-sector spending, Chrétien's emphasis on deficit reduction is sufficiently close to the existing Conservative party line to quell my serious misgivings. Says one currency trader based in Chicago by a major chartered bank: "New government means new policy and new players. Everyone is anxious to avoid surprises and to stick with the existing script." But he adds, a minority government is "always considered to be the worst-case scenario."

The major risk with minority governments is that, in the past, they have tended to buy support for their policies with spending on programs demanded by their political allies. In Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government of 1987-1991, for one, Ottawa under

such significant spending to sustain the support of the New Democratic Party. As a result, according to Robert Bothwell, a Canadian history professor at the University of Toronto, that period was "absolutely dreadful for economic policy." Anna Laura, an economist with Salomon Brothers Inc. in New York City, notes that another concern is that minority governments can be short-lived and economic policy flagged by lack-of-back election campaigns. Laura adds that the alliances formed by a minority government are also critical. "If the two allied parties are on the same wavelength ideologically, the risks do diminish somewhat," she says.

For rising foreign investors, the recent fragmentation of the Canadian political scene, marked by the emergence of strong alternative contenders in the Reform Party of Canada and the Bloc Québécois, has complicated the task of predicting the election outcome. But the Chicago currency trader says that most European money managers are already accustomed to splitting party politics in their own countries. Because of the Reform party's strong intellectual status, it has recently found favor with foreign investors. The Reform party also has the advantage of a popular Preston Manning as widely viewed outside Canada in a forthcoming version of *Forbes*. *Forbes* managed to impose a deficit reduction agenda on the Democratic party in the 1989 U.S. election without actually making significant political gains. States Merrill Lynch's Davis: "American investors in particular relate to the Reform party."

The Bloc Québécois, however, is more of an enigma to foreign observers. It is also a cause of concern, according to Baring. "The Bloc, because it would be an economic threat to Canada, may not be popular." The breaking of Canadian political structures in a world as one there, "he says. "That kind of change could also lead to volatility."

One of the key components in projecting a positive image—especially in the eyes of European investors—is the continued lead of John Crow at the Bank of Canada. Canadian currency specialists have brought some new life in especially high premiums on stability. Dohm, with firm Bresl, estimates pre-qualification of American-based AIG and Axa Bank says, "Major central banks are losing control of their markets to speculators. Once you yield that grip, it is hard to recover it." He adds, "There is no bottom to the currency market if any one does." For his part, Crow has a solid reputation based on his consistent and inflationary policy and his defense of the Canadian dollar in global markets. And with Canada's creditors casting a stern eye over its dreams, Crow has to work to break in strong support—whatever the election outcome.

DEBORAH MC MURRAY

## Business Notes

### INVESTMENT DISCLOSURE RULES

Executives of publicly traded companies in Ontario will have to reveal their individual salaries under regulations announced by provincial Finance Minister Floyd Littlejohn. The new rules pertain those in the United States, where companies whose shares are traded publicly must disclose the salaries of the top five executives. Under Ontario's new rules, executives must now reveal details of bonuses, stock options and other perks.

### WEATHER REINFORCEMENT

Wainwright Corp. of New York City will close or relegate 970 of its stores in North America. The company said that the reorganization would eliminate about 16,800 jobs in the United States and 3,800 in Canada—about one per cent of its total workforce. Statistics Canada reported that department store sales in August, at \$103.5 million across the country, were down by 4.6 per cent compared with August, 1992.

### LAIDLAW'S NEW CEO

James Bullock, former president and chief executive officer of Cadillac Fairview Corp., the Toronto-based real estate developer, is the new president and chief executive officer of Laidlaw Inc. of Burlington, Ont. A director of Laidlaw, he replaces Donald Jackson, who recently resigned over differences in the company's strategic direction.

### PWAs SCORE A POINT

PWAs Corp. of Calgary, which operates the financially troubled Canadian Airlines, gained a legal hand in its struggle against objections by rival Air Canada to a proposed merger deal between Canadian and American Airlines. The PWAs deal with American's parent, AMR Corp. of Fort Worth, Texas, would provide PWAs with a \$25-million cash infusion. The Supreme Court of Canada refused a bid by Montreal-based Air Canada to appeal a lower-court ruling that the Federal Competition Tribunal has the authority to release PWAs from its contract with the Gomel Group reservation system, which is shared by Air Canada and Canadian. The Supreme Court ruling means that the tribunal, scheduled to begin hearings on Nov. 15, may settle the issue by dissolving PWAs or mediating a cash settlement. Under the proposed PWAs deal, Canadian must join AMR's Sabre reservation system—a plan that has prompted Gomel to sue PWAs for \$1 billion.

**BUSINESS**

# The return of the big deal in mergers

**T**he deals evoking memories of the 1980s—corporate raiders in billion-dollar price bids and bidding wars being led off to jail and giant, over-inflated companies being bought out for top dollar. Certainly the numbers—over \$40 billion in mergers and takeovers in little more than 4 months in New York City and Toronto—would seem to indicate that big deals are back in fashion on Wall Street and Bay Street. But analysts say that a slate of such corporate deals in the past year, including the \$37 billion merger between Bell Atlantic, GTE and Tele-Communications Inc. (TCI) announced in New York last week, and the union of five Canadian companies to create a \$5-billion real estate giant in Toronto, were motivated more by economic forces and technological change than financial raider intent. But now that the takeover boom is gathering momentum, some industry analysts warn that the wheeling and dealing might get out of hand again. "It's a bit in the way of the 1980s," says Peter J. Solomon, chairman of his own New York-based investment banking firm. "There

*North American companies join forces to gain growth and financial power*



TCI president John Malone demonstrates an interactive television system (below).

is a pure fear—a fear of being left out."

So far, however, the current flurry of takeovers appears to be based more on corporate scaling, competitive advantages and quick growth by joining forces, rather than

greed. The boom has also been encouraged by a combination of the low cost of borrowing, money in hand for deals, troubled corporate giants shedding subsidiaries and growth opportunities on the proved for new ventures. According to the Toronto financial support and advocacy firm Crozier & Co. Inc., 650 deals worth \$33.5 billion have been announced in Canada so far this year—up 30% at the record of 486.3 billion in the first nine months of 1989. So is contrast with the 1980s, much of the new merger and acquisition boom on Bay Street—and Wall Street as well—is being propelled by sellers, rather than buyers. Many of the biggest deals involve big, cash-rich companies selling off units that are of little use to their cash. Among them: telephone Northern Telecom (116), which agreed to sell its British underwater telephone cable division to submarine systems to Alcatel Cable via France in July for \$1 billion. As well, in February the troubled Heublein group sold its controlling stakes in lower John Labatt Ltd. and forestry giant MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. for almost \$1 billion to a consortium of Bay Street brokerage firms. Because of the glut of sellers, some of those big deals degenerated into an astronomical 1988-style takeover battle. Declares one investment banker: "There are so many willing sellers out there, you don't need to go hostile."

In the United States, the value of mergers and acquisitions has reached \$80 billion so far this year and is expected to eclipse the \$80 billion record that Wall Street set in 1986. Analysts said that the mergers in that country are largely being driven by a slow economy, which is forcing companies to cut costs more than ever. At the same time, the growing private market segment is expected by analysts to grow. As well, the pressure to enter strategic partnerships is intense in such sectors as telecommunications. Major telephone and cable television firms are jockeying for position on the so-called electronic highway of the future. Over the next decade, telecommunications and cable firms will be able to deliver a wide variety of electronic signals to every home, using coaxial cables to a wide array of entertainment and information services on their computers and television sets.

Despite the high stakes and high volume of recent transactions, the strategies, financing and even the style of negotiations behind the mergers in Canada and the United States differ greatly from the past decade. In the 1980s, financial engineers like David Thorne, Lou Lakshmi, Inc.'s junk bond captain Michael Milken, because the need for power was as Wall Street. Backed by money borrowed through high-yield, high-risk securi-

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has—an-called junk bonds—corporate raiders managing to take over dozens of large companies. Once up and sold, the firms were often broken up, sold to help pay down the massive debts that were piled up to 8 times the debts. And Canadian real estate developer Robert Simpson, who borrowed \$15 billion to acquire the Allied and Federal ed department stores chain in an attempt to become the biggest retailer of them all, claims to worthwhile not only the era's hubris but also his sudden collapse.

Now, however, a new consolidatory style of takeover has emerged. In fact, analysts say that many investment houses have eliminated their once-aggressive raider and acquisition firms, shanghaied, or folded them into more conservative corporate finance departments. Even the corporate executives involved in some of the biggest deals are taking a more or less approachable attitude. In the TCI/Bell Atlantic case, John Malone, TCI's president, who experts say is one of the toughest and brightest executives in America, will become vice-chairman of Bell Atlantic. In the 1980s, by contrast, victories in takeover battles usually cleared out the executive offices of the companies that they acquired as quickly as possible.

Above all, mergers are now being more conservatively financed than five years ago. Independent Toronto investment banker Andrew Silcox notes that the strong stock market is allowing companies to finance transac-

tions by issuing shares instead of securing new debt. And when they do have to borrow, the banks are offering easier-to-lay-off deals with a sound financial basis. Says Silcox: "The action is being driven by men who have strong currency. Both in terms of cash and credit. And they are able to use these tools to finance the deals."

The slow growth of the economy is also helping companies to the skin. Wall Street investment banker Guy Werner-Pivato, president of Werner-Pivato & Co. Inc., says that in compensation for the slow economy and sluggish earnings, firms are trying to raise profits by merging or taking over firms with better production or distribution systems.

That strategy has underpinned a number of recent mergers in the telecommunications sector. The trend began in August when AT&T of New York acquired McCaw Cellular Communications Inc. in a \$15 billion deal. McCaw is the largest cellular telephone company in the United States and AT&T dominates the long-distance telephone service market. Their deal was quickly followed by a takeover battle for Panhandle Communications Corp. Inc.—the entertainment and publishing giant. In September, Viacom Inc., a major cable television supplier, offered \$13 billion for Panhandle. Shortly after, over Norwest Inc., a firm controlling home television shopping networks and other specialized cable services, offered \$11.8 billion for the firm. By purchasing Panhandle, Viacom would

have access to top-quality entertainment for cable distribution.

Last week's merger of Bell Atlantic and TCI was perhaps motivated by the need to form a strategic alliance. In fact, the combined company would offer cable and telephone services to 50 per cent of the 100 largest metropolitan areas in the United States. "We think this is the perfect International Age marriage," said Bell Atlantic's Smith at a news conference in Washington. "The combination will be a model for communication companies as the next century."

Furthermore, the Bell Atlantic group has potential for continued growth. TCI already owns Liberty Media Corp., which in turn holds 22 per cent of QVC Networks Inc. Analysts suggest that the Bell Atlantic merger will enable TCI to do more about QVC's ability to finance its \$11 billion bid at Paramount. And the prospect of Bell Atlantic dominating the future of all interactive television could trigger yet another round of mergers in the telecommunications industry.

The need to form such new alliances in a highly competitive industry and a company's desire to shed a weak division were both factors in the merger in Toronto last week between the Canada Trust chain of 219 real estate offices and California-based Coldwell Banker Corp.'s 113 Canadian offices.



Compton, a symbol of the takeover, 1980s-style

The new company will be called California Banker Affiliates of Canada Ltd. With about \$5 billion in annual sales, it will be the second-largest chain in Canada after RBC Mortg. & Financial Services Inc., Canada Trust's parent company, lost money in the real estate brokerage business in 1990 and 1991, largely be-

cause those companies are now quick cash for acquisitions by selling stock rather than going into debt by selling junk bonds or borrowing from banks. In one deal, Calgary-based Transgas Oil & Gas Ltd. announced on May 18 that it had agreed to buy Olympos Exploration Ltd., also based in Calgary, for

\$122 million. That move doubled the size of the six-year-old company in one fell swoop. The next day, a Tarragon loan of \$85 million worth of new stock to help finance the deal was stepped up by investment dealers within a few hours. "If you just put stock market together with a good deal it's very easy," said Raymond Chen, Tarragon's vice-president of finance. He added: "I don't think our appetite now is really satisfied."

Like Tarragon's purchase of Olympos, most of the recent mergers and acquisitions in the energy and gas industry, and elsewhere, have been among companies in the same business seeking synergies. Said Mike Jansen, a senior partner with the Toronto-based accounting and management consulting firm Ernst & Young who specializes in mergers and acquisitions: "It's not like it was in the 1980s, when financial players would say: 'We can get you \$1 billion in the junk bond market, so why not buy these guys?'" Jansen added that, so far, buyers and sellers are agreeing on more realistic prices for companies compared with the largely inflated or exaggerated in some deals in the 1980s. "But then, a didn't realize what you paid because many people assumed that the next stock was going to buy it," Jansen said and jokingly: "Today the 'sellers' may be gone, but the appetite to make money is as strong as ever."

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# Kim Campbell's descent into a political hell

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**A**s the days drag on and the campaign narrows down to deciding whether Lucien Bouchard or Preston Manning will lead Her Majesty's Official Opposition, the most tragic story emerging from the surrounding circus is Kim Campbell's fall from grace.

She went into the campaign with a commanding lead in the polls—only six weeks later, she is running a poor fourth in terms of likely number of seats, facing defeat in her home province and trouble in her own riding. Her slate has been blunted as the best of the Brian Mulroney legacy, on having recruited crack-line advisers, and is being forced to seek votes at a time of fiscal restraint. These are valid points, but they don't add up to the fact that her run for office has been the clumsiest effort since Joe Clark's comic trip around the world. He subsequently made it; she won't even come close.

Her descent to the political hell of leading her party backwards from bold power to becoming a pernicious party, you cannot have been due to her transformation on the campaign trail. The well-described *worst* (though I interviewed earlier this year was sparkling with wit and personal eloquence) You could light a small city with her. This is in no way just to the programmed, parroted puppet who has been on and off the national stage for the past few weeks. Her current schoolmarsh-like disengagement and dehydrated demeanor wouldn't earn her admission to a Texas ice dance, much less light her up as a Texas fire dance, much less light her up as a Texas Sunser Drive.

The enduring mystery of her downfall is why Campbell allowed it to happen. Was it all so unnecessary? Certainly, her biggest problem has been the absence of policy packages. Yet a sensible platform was played out at her disposal by the departing prime minister. Before he left office, Mulroney had a three-speech strategy for a possible new union of Parliament that was based on position papers from key governmental departments.

*Her campaign has been the clumsiest since Joe Clark's comic trip around the world. He made it; she won't even come close.*

The proposed measures were carefully crafted to avoid any negative impact on the federal treasury. The centerpiece of the new proposals was a detailed plan to drop most existing spending funded from the federal treasury and replace them with a comprehensive guaranteed income package. By reducing aggregate income tax rates, simultaneously, families whose incomes fell below a predetermined level would receive funds from Ottawa, those above the line would pay.

While the transition away from unemployment to such a new approach would be politically difficult, it would eventually transfer most funds to those who need the most help.

At the beginning of September, Campbell had the罕得 approval of only one Canadian political leader at three decades. After this, it was downhill all the way. She set the distinct tone of the campaign on the day she called the election by enunciating about a political economic recovery and holding off the little hope of reducing unemployment in the 1990s. Perversely, the federal finance department issued a life-study report the same day predicting that the number of Canadian jobs will drop substantially in the last half of the decade. On the first day of the actual

campaign, speaking in Perth, Ont., she reiterated her pessimistic forecast, and the next morning she acknowledged that she was planning to cut social programs, but by not providing details made it a whole without art appear to be up for grabs.

At that point, she started to fumble with her accompanying media corps, self-delusion is to a discommunicative cause and telling one reporter who asked why she wasn't offering Canadians some hope that he needed a hearing aid. Her credibility kept crashing. She went as quickly as about the deficit being a fine beast she vowed to defeat, but by simultaneously pledging not to increase taxes or spending any social program cuts, her promises rang hollow.

What she was telling voters, in effect, was, "Trust me," and that's the one thing Canadians in this troubled autumn of 1993 are not prepared to do.

In addition to projecting no vision of the future (except the pious notion that nothing would improve), Campbell made another mistake by the campaign's third week in agreeing most of her stage line, attacking Jean Chretien's polarization program. That helped switch public attention and eventually the election's momentum to the Liberals.

But Campbell's greatest single gaffe occurred at St. Bruno, Que., when she tried to deflect questions about her intentions of re-organizing social programs by pointing out that an election campaign was no time "to get involved in very sensitive issues." Then, just to make sure that her research savvy statement would be noticed, she went on to emphasize that elections are "the world possible time to have that kind of dialogue because it takes longer than 45 days to tackle an issue that's that serious."

And so it went. It was representatively symbolic that when she called a press conference to reveal her budget in a Montreal lecture hall, she had to be led through to her overheard, "I launch crunched jet, but I have no idea where I'm going."

At through the campaign, she was haunted by her party's slogan, "It's time"—the silent motto since the 1977 election, when Pierre Trudeau found himself trying to win votes under the really meaningless banner that proclaimed, "The land is strong."

Campbell is intelligent, but not shrewd. She seems also to be all but unconscious of how sophisticated so-called ordinary voters have become. Most important of all, because she only joined the Progressive Conservative Party in 1986, she has little inside knowledge of how the Tory organization works. She commands little loyalty and has yet to earn the right to be followed.

It was in Kelowna, B.C., that Kim Campbell's unaccountably made the campaign's most prescient prediction. She had been joking about how she was working hard to stay on as prime minister, because "if I get thrown out of office, I'm not sure I can get a job."

Every day, it sounds less and less like a joke.

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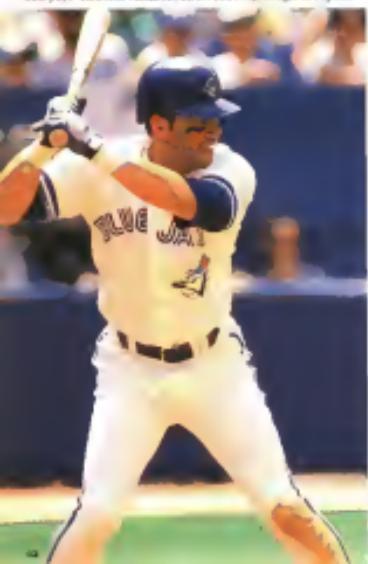
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# A clash of cultures

The Philadelphia Phillies' unlikely march to the World Series caught a few of the city's sharpshooters off guard last week. That is understandable; over the years, the Phillies have done little to inspire confidence, fluctuating between mediocrity and mediocrity since their last World Series appearance a decade ago. And even though the Phils won the National League East last year, this season they were suddenly the same scrubby bunch that had reigned dead for a decade ago. As a result, the people predicting that the Phillies would defeat the powerhouse Atlanta Braves in last month's National League Championship Series, including me, lost my bet. However, I did manage to locate by the Toronto Blue Jays an illustration of a World Series. With conversations and base-ball line drawings of a World Series, the Jays were forced to find a accommodation nearby an hour from Veterans Stadium. "gave the Jays didn't think the Phillies would win," grumbled one Toronto official.

The Jays' Roberto Alomar: Kruk (below): tough to repeat



## Toronto the Good meets Philadelphia's Nasty Boys

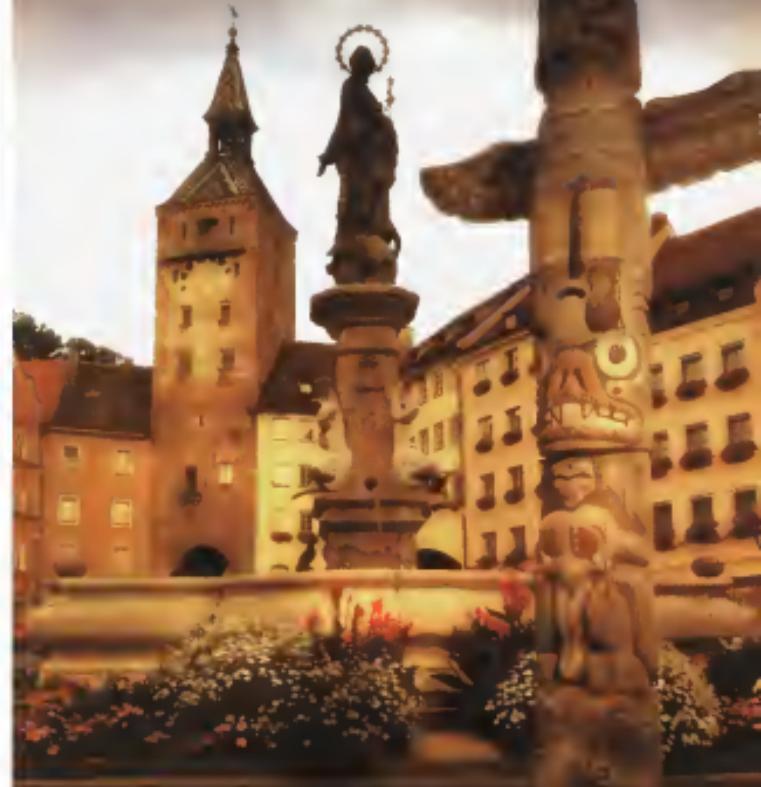
For those who believe that opposites attract, this is a World Series made in heaven. It is Toronto the Good against the bad Boys. The Blue Jays' image is scrubbed and efficient, as evidenced by such stars as outfielder Rickey Henderson and first baseman John Olerud, who leave on and off the field for the Phillies, meanwhile, the familiar plume "swinging ugly" is literal as well as figurative truth. Among their poster boys are John Kruk, an unkempt first baseman who looks like he needs a shave, a shave, a haircut and a diet, and relief pitcher Mitch Williams, apparently chilled "The Wild Thing." Just the contrast between the two first basemen, Kruk and Olerud, explains why many observers view this Series as a clash of cultures. "It is the ugly superstar being forced to play by the best-looking guy in class," said Phillies pitcher Larry Andersen.

The Jays, though favored in the Series, have not always looked like show-offs this year. Starting the season, their hopes were pinned on a team of soaring veterans and young players who roared depicted by 12 all-star departures. Manager Cito Gaston admitted in spring training that the Jays had "a few things to sort out" before they could win. Team president Paul Beeston was more succinct. "We'll go in there as our pitching will let us," he said. For most of the season, an explosive offense kept them in first place, and a September pitching surge enabled them to pull away from New York and Baltimore and win the division.

That momentum carried into the American League championship, where the Jays disposed of the Chicago White Sox in six games. The excitement of the season were reflected in the post-playoff celebration. While the 2002 team labored under the grueling weight of must-win expectation, this year's Jays were considered unassimilated against Chicago. The guy of victory was as thick as the champagne spray. "Last year was awesome, but this year, we are going to repeat," forecasted to have won last year's Carter, holding up a bottle of the winning dressing room in Chicago's Wrigley Park. Then, raising a bottle, he added, "And right now, I'm going to have some fat."

No matter what the Jays against Toronto, the Phillies say that they are not surprised by their career-defining success. "They attribute last year's success to swelling funds to a plague of key injuries, especially

Germany



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to the pitching staff. And this year, with the team healthy and supplemented by a few well-chosen free agents, they rolled in an ear divisional lead and held off a late challenge by the gritty Montreal Expos. In the playoffs against the California Angels, they blew seven runs they made three errors and statistical. They were outlasted, outpitched and outscored. But again they won, proving that neither bats nor statistics tell the whole story. At spring training in Dunedin, the Jays saw plenty of the Phils based in neighboring Clearwater. And Gossen suggested then that the Phils would win their division if they stayed healthy. "We played them all spring, and even with our best nine players on the field, we had trouble with them," he recalled last week. "They don't mind getting dirty, they play hard, and they play hard."

According to at least one Series participant, the Phillies' bulldog game is steady a second. "I think the brawling image is just about gone," says Jays manager coach Nick Leyva. "I think the Phillies' managers and the Jays went through some rough patches. I mean, even [Leyva's cut-second baseman] Mickey Morandini is trying to grow a beard." Brought up the antechamber the Phils are unusually talented. Lance Berkman, the year-and-a-half of the Jays' first-line, Devon White in center field, is a tobacco-chewing fireplug who lays the Phils offense. Davey Lopes, handsome enough to make up for the rest of the team, is a capable catcher with a powerful bat. Pitchers Curt Schilling, Terry Mulholland, Denny Jackson and Tommy Greene form a solid starting rotation. And the Phils' bench possesses strong part-time players who provide timely hits and defensive plays to spark the victory over Atlanta.

This week, the Blue Jays stand poised to do something that is increasingly difficult in baseball—not back-to-back world championships. Free agency and starting salaries have made it problematic even for well-heeled organizations to keep winning teams together. Toronto, however, has drawn a blueprint for success in modern-day baseball, balancing its roster through envelope-doubling, trades and precise free-agent acquisitions. "You've got to fit your bat to your life [general manager] Pat Gillick and Paul Beaton," said Gossen, "because they put together a quality bunch of guys as their ball club." In the last few years, that formula has produced a World Series title, two American League pennants and four division titles. And the club wants more. "It's not easy to win a second time unless you are willing to go through all the pain and hard work to do it again," Gossen said after beating Chicago. Looking out at his champagne-soaked players, he added: "These guys are willing to do it."

JAMES DEAL ON

## A case of divided loyalties

BY BOB LEVIN

I am absolutely not just that Philadelphia has two family histories and clashing personalities. It was born and raised in Philly, and I know. It may be true that they once beat the Easter Bunny, and it is indisputable that they too these sports teams and especially the Phillies. Roger Allen, the slugging Rookie of the Year in 1964 (Boo-oo-oo! Mike Schmidt!) heys the greatest, tried Bayesian ever! Subsist, your heart! This is not the sort of mild, sporadic boozing with which Toronto fans managed to dis-

to root for in the improbable World Series of 1993? Following one team in each league has always seemed convenient, secure in the knowledge that the two are unlikely to meet in anything but a Snapdrag League game. How could they and the world keep summing? What are the odds? If that sounds like pessimism, remember: I come from a place with a comic popular about as heralded as one of its trademark part-parties. Its most popular reading material, the *Subway Bell*, has a crack in it. Its most museum is famous for its art than its Sylvester Stallone running up its steps, and its most once-flourished sports clubroom in 1993 by bumper-to-bumper two-city blockers.

And then there were the Phils vs. Phils. This was the long-lousy club that, in 1967-1968, took a \$9-million budget into the pennant's final 12 games and managed to blow it, finishing in a shattering tie for second and losing many a young believer scanner for life. What sort of crass work was this, and what did it have against Philadelphia? Years passed. The dimensions flattered. And then came 1988—and aascorn. In the end, as a fledgling McGraw struck and Kansas City's Willie Wilson to end the Phils' first World Series triumph in their 90-year history, there was a sustained roar of redemption high in the bleachers, and a strange sense of amazement—something Torontonians approximated 10 years when Series supremacy miraculously came to Canada.

Maybe that was part of the Jays' appeal at first, an upstart challenging the big boys, then shapenous collapses in the 1985 playoffs and the 1987 regular season. To a Philadelphian, this was familiar; this was home. And while it has taken some adjustment, steering champions, however rich and managing they have become, has not been altogether unpleasant.

Which leads back to the problem of who to root for. One idea, by the Philadelphia's sort of selective support it is, for instance, highly possible—even desirable—to cheer the Jays while boozing Rickey Henderson. In theory, then, it should be possible to root for some Phils, and some Jays, knowing that a kid from a city of losers has somehow been transported to baseball bliss. No, either way I win. That thought, so warm and cozy, lasts about five seconds before the next one. Heavens, and lose.

So much for theory. Here is the central fact: in baseball if not in love, familiarity—not absence—makes the heart grow fonder. Go Jays.



Schmidt, Jenkins from the World Series that was (1988) and that might have been (1964) exercises

cheers the Jays? George Bell and Kelly Gruber's live years back. This is Philly boozing, a full-throated blast of beer that stems not only from years of hubby for Philly, in the local headline-writers' English but from some deeper, darker shades of civic theater. And so, when the team is actually winning—when the red-clad boys are colorful and fun and in no way deserving of the term's connotive chutzpah—it is the responsibility of all Philadelphiaans, whenever they have returned, to cheer like a crowd in a Rickey movie.

And that is my problem. Who is a transplant? Who is a transplant? Who is a transplant? Living in Toronto for the past eight years, I suspect



McGraw



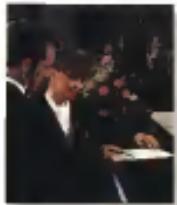
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## SCIENCE

# Genes and genius

*Vancouver's Michael Smith wins a Nobel Prize*

**H**e has the face of a Lancashire peasant: round and wrinkled and freckled, with retreating silvery hair and grey eyes that turn into many half-moons when he grins. Last week, Vancouver bacteriologist Michael Smith was doing a lot of grinning. Several hours after his modest radio interview had announced him as the man the Royal Swedish Academy had awarded this year's Nobel Prize in

publications in Cell, a leading academic journal based in Cambridge, Mass., "the offices sent a back-thru and that technologically it was not of general interest."

Smith, 48, of the University of British Columbia, was honored for inventing a way to rapidly duplicate small fragments of DNA. His work was wholly separate from that of Svante, who gets credit for contributing an essential tool in the armament of genetic research by allowing exper-



Chemistry party to American researcher Kary Mullis and himself, as cited Smith, all笑着. "The first thing that passed my lips today was a glass of champagne."

The champagne has been a long time coming. The discovery that prompted the Swedish academy to confer its honor on the Canadian chemist was made more than a decade ago. Between 1987 and 1992, Smith and colleagues at the University of British Columbia devised a way to change the genetic code in individual segments of DNA, microorganisms and the molecular basis of heredity. But the discovery made little immediate impact. In fact, Smith recalls when he first submitted a report on his work for

Smith, confident  
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in this country."

members to inject altered genetic codes into living cells, Smith's technique—properly known as "site-specific mutagenesis"—enables them to mimic the random trial-and-error process of evolution with a degree of control beyond anything known in nature. "It is a very powerful technology," observes Charles Gray, scientific affairs manager of BioGenex Inc., a Seattle-based company co-founded by Smith—that employed his methods in the development of a strain of yeast implanted with the human gene for production of insulin. George Hunter, executive director of the British Columbia Biotechnology Alliance, an association of 180 businesses and academic researchers in that province,

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## SCIENCE

said. "The information he developed is fundamental to biotechnology in the same way that a hammer is fundamental to building a house."

Smith's own assessment of his accomplishment is more modest. "I wasn't a pioneer," he insists. "We were just in a position to do before people realized it needed to be done and was important." Calling his technique no more than a "less chance" alternative to the natural remedies that man has long exploited to improve animal breeds and develop new plant varieties, Smith sought to reflect the perspectives of his parents, an English market gardener married to a bookkeeper. The working-class couple were unable to afford their son's education, he accomplished that first, seeking scholarships at first to private school in his native Bledsoe and then at Murchison University. After earning a doctorate in chemistry there, Smith moved to Vancouver in 1958, joining the faculty of UBC 10 years later.

For all the genetics in Smith's research, though, there appears not to be much science in his own genes. None of the Nobel winner's three children has followed in his academic footsteps—one son is a ski instructor, another is a rock concert goer and Smith's daughter is a sales agent for wildflower seeds. Smith and his wife separated in 1982. Most colleagues say that he has workaholic habits. His chronic willingness leaves the lab to pursue his passions for hiking, skiing and ocean sailing. Last year, he joined friends on a 75-foot sailboat for a crossing of the Atlantic, reluctantly giving up in the Azores in order to attend a scientific conference. Says genetics colleague Bill Hall of the University of Washington at Seattle, who has gone camping with Smith: "He's not much."

As atheist since his undergraduate days, Smith takes evident delight in decimating the central tenets of life. "I have wisdom in the middle of the night and had an idea about an experiment and not been able to get back to sleep," he confides. Last week, Smith took advantage of the media attention paid to his award to plead for more government funding for basic science—and less focus on scientists. His own house, second, he expressed the hope that his prize will give young Canadian scientists confidence that "we can do world-class research in this country—if didn't have to be in Boston or Berkeley to do something that my colleagues around the world think is worthwhile."

As for what he plans to do with the roughly \$500,000 he will receive as a Nobel Prize winner, Smith considered the question briefly before replying: "I guess I'll have to take my lab [staff] out for an expensive dinner," he said, and his eyes crinkled into corners again.

CHERYL WOOD in Vancouver

## ART

**A** is the daughter of seven (ive) Ingred Bergman and Italian film director Roberto Rossellini. Isabelle Rossellini says that she "always felt a bit bad" when she first began acting. "I was kind of intimidated because in the same job as my parents," she told MacLean's. But while thinking for her role as the smart, reclusive wife of a discredited husband in the new movie *Revelation*, Rossellini, 41, said that the lot suddenly "seemed" partly because her mother is a second-generation star, daughter child. Jeff Bridges, who grew up watching his father Lloyd Bridges, says it's the same way he feels: "I am an 1800s actress," he says. The legend was born with such a great career and a decent mother. "She has such a great spirit and a great heart," says Bridges, 43, of his costar. "You can't take your eyes off her." She's just as vigorous, inside and out. "The two actors spent weeks rehearsing to develop a sense of mutual distrust," says director Martin Scorsese. "For me, it is to overcome the shyness," explained Rossellini, who is twice-divorced (from film-makers

Robert De Niro and

her husband and wife'

## Daughters and sons

Marta Scorsese and Jonathan Wiedemann). "Your fears are big. You try to lower them. You did hang out together and have dinner. Wild imagination, but get a conversation going just like an intimate husband and wife." But what about Bridges' real-life wife of 36 years, Susan? Did she mind that intimacy? "Well," Rossellini laughed, "we didn't go to bed together."

## Thanks for the thanks

**D**uring his six years on television, the comedy whose acts at various times did filming in Toronto and even from a bus in Los Angeles where the entire cast lived and worked together, the 37-year-old star could show what can from 1977 to 2004, his career produced in Vancouver. On Oct. 8, however, five veterans of the TV comedy made up for that, when they turned out for a tribute to the show staged by the Vancouver Film Festival. The ceremony attracted 8000 guests. Dave Thomas, Martin Short, Rick Moranis, Andrea Martin and Catherine O'Hara, who participated on stage at the Vogue Theatre between clips of the show. The comedian

whose response from the sold-out crowd is the archive national comedy Thomas to consider at the end of the night that it was the first time the cast members had ever heard a live audience react to their material. As Wiegert wrote in Edmonton, we were writing in Toronto, we were writing all over the place and doing sketches in studios by our selves," Thomas said. "And we never heard anybody laugh." He added, "Tonight, when we were sitting here and actually heard you laugh it was like, 'God, that is so great.' Thank you."

Marc Morano: 'to better  
understanding'

coment in Canada's seeming  
ly maddening constitutional crisis. "I hope people who read the book will have a better understanding of the issues," says Mercredi. Still, with Canada possibly on the verge of electing a fragmented parliament and obsessed with controlling the deficit, he expresses little hope that some issues will receive a lot of attention. And if nothing else, he says, the books of legend will continue on their separate routes. And that, he says, will lead to conflict. Adds Mercredi: "We want equality, respect, dignity and a sharing of the river we travel on."



## PEOPLE

### Confrontational course

**A** according to an Indian legend, natives were to peaceably accept the arrival of two brothers that in fact were hostile. Grade Merricks, grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations, says his journey has gone hardly off course. In the legend is a collection of Merricks's speeches on issues facing natives—land claims and the tragedy of drug abuse among native children in the role of Indians given



## Daughters and sons

Marta Scorsese and Jonathan Wiedemann. "Your fears are big. You try to lower them. You did hang out together and have dinner. Wild imagination, but get a conversation going just like an intimate husband and wife." But what about Bridges' real-life wife of 36 years, Susan? Did she mind that intimacy? "Well," Rossellini laughed, "we didn't go to bed together."



# Read all about it: Halifax is hip!

It is Friday, 10:30 p.m., and the place is a weed. Under a purple spotlight, the lead singer of the high-decibel band Leonard Cohen bows lyrics at the sweaty mass of young men and women swaying in the overheated darkness. The crowd is a jumble of goatees, lumberjack shirts, leather jackets, black-rimmed glasses, berets and thick-soled Doc Martens. At the Double Deuce Roadhouse, a half-mustard motorcycle ride from the Halifax waterfront, the patrons work hard to look as though style is the last think on their minds. This is, after all, the paradise of cool in a city that is suddenly being called one of the coolest in the country. And there is no need to take the word of the clémont college kids, boys, the tatty skinnies, the blousy-eyed girls, the anarchoes from the suburbs who have congregated at the Double Deuce. Sure, we're in the corner of a couple of recent executives from New York and Seattle heading for new musical intent. And earlier that day, a writer from *Spin* the alternative New York monthly, plucked the Deuce's management to announce another story on Halifax the Hip. "The whole thing," admits Mike MacKinnon, 36, Leonard Cohen's lead guitarist, "was a bit overwhelming."

Now, just put a minute in the same place that Rudyard Kipling once gave the steady thrills of "Waking of the bone of the North." That has the background of a conservative, colonial city, as historian Lou Collins put it: it's the working-class provincial capital, university town and port at the heart of the depressed Maritimes. But according to a recent issue of *Harper's Bazaar*, the New York City-based fashion monthly, which placed Halifax fourth among a new group of alternative North American hot spots, including Seattle, Wash., Austin, Texas, and Chapel Hill, N.C. In recent months, the British music magazine *NME* and the American entertainment weekly *Billboard* have rated Halifax and its exploding music scene. A more subversive



At the Double Deuce, where a certain coolness

## A new music scene in the old provincial capital is suddenly winning rave reviews

city might be tempted to believe its own press clippings. But, as Greg Clark, co-owner of the Double Deuce, notes, "We know we're not the centre of the universe. It's just nice for people to know that we're part of it."

To understand Halifax's newfound fame, it makes sense to visit at Cafe Moloko, a funky downtown coffee bar where the dreadfully laid-back crowd has been seen and heard in too many foreign press stories, discovering their city. "Oh Christ," not another reporter! Robert Forsyth, 22, a black-clad bookshelf clerk

and student at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, tells a visitor good-naturedly. To her bearded californian, Tony Pihlstrom, 23, who lets Halifax a decade ago because he found it too sluggish, the media hype is simply "bizarre." Nancy Peter Wawach, 20, the cafe's sidebar-bounding co-owner, smiles as he says the ephemeral nature of what is cool: "People." The magnifying glass has fallen an Hitler for a minute," he explains to a back drop of recorded puns "I'll pass."

In truth, no one in the college-oriented

city looks old enough to remember the city's last brief brush with trendiness: the 1980s and early 1990s, when American draft dodgers and station arabs and actors spread the word in the United States of an enigmatic cult called "San Francisco North" in Nova Scotia. Now, at any of the coffeehouses, bars and clubs that cater to the new wave of Halifax natives, the fashion is black leather, poetry readings and other Bohemian ear marks. The grunge-rock look is also evident, although there is a certain irony in that group's old school shirts, blue jeans, tapers and working clothes have long been standard issue in most Nova Scotia cities and towns. "Fashion," explains Pihlstrom, "has overtaken the Maritimes."

But, any search for changes in the city of 415,000 people must go beyond the burlesque boutiques. Even those deeply skeptical of Halifax's new image admit that the place has acquired a certain worldliness in recent years. "It's not Greenwich Village," says Stephen Cross, a 34-year-old theater director who recently moved back to Halifax, where he was born, after a decade in New York. "But sometimes I wonder if this was the same place I grew up in." In those days, the city could never have supported today's diverse crop of musical festivals—jazz, grunge, Celtic, alternative, classical—the film theater and film and theater festivals held on year after year. Cross agrees, a shift is attributable to the university students, where the university employees, hospital workers, government bureaucrats and many journalists who are the backbone of the economy no longer cast an eye at the walking street matrons and the young street-hounds wearing through the leisure downtown.

If Halifax really is, as *Harper's Bazaar* put it, "the very soul of a hip city," the changing face of the population is partly responsible. Although the city lost 12,000 jobs from 1980 to 1992, newcomers continue to pour in—from back to the land, returning native sons and daughters, past graduates of the area's five universities and colleges, followers of the Karma Dzong Buddhist Church that transplanted its headquarters from Boulder, Colo., in 1985, and addition to the city's cosmopolitan flavor. Combines Andrew Gilts, 26, a local metallist and journalist: "The people from away give Halifax its soul."

Bob Halifax would likely have remained their little secret had it not been for the sudden burst of musical activity that focused a larger spotlight on the city. Punk, grunge, pop-rock—the raw, raucous music has low obvious links to the city's mapping roots or the Celtic-arranged music that is so common in the rest of the region. It started a novelty last year when Sloan, a band composed of four young Nova Scotia musicians, signed a guitars and bass-cord contract with Griffin Records, the label that carries Cher, Jon Mitchell, Gains of Roses and the Seattle grunge-rock gods Nirvana. And after two other alternative, local groups—Eaten's Trip, based in Moncton, NB, and a folk-influenced band from Halifax—signed with a Seattle label called Sub-Pop, the music world was suddenly awash with talk of "the Halifax Sound."

For all of this, these hometown connectors serve by



Scott (left), Pentland, Murphy, Ferguson, Forsyth

## Rocking the Atlantic

They work in a dark room in a shabby warehouse overlooking the grey waters of Halifax Harbor. Although the makeshift studio may not be everyone's idea of the rock 'n' roll big time, it is an intimate fitting setting for Sloan, the youthful quartet that has spearheaded Halifax's alternative bar, flannel shirts and canoe-surfing, the four members look as if they are right at the very heart of the scene. And every night the group rock bands to which they are first compared, as well as alternative rock, Canadian-style. And while American groups such as Nirvana's Kurt Cobain recover from their addictions, the members of Sloan eat pizza, stay off talk radio in a manner that they say is to stay off their college educations and middle-class advantages. "We're not on drugs," explains Seymour, guitar and drums Andrew Gilts, 26, a local metallist and journalist: "The people from away give Halifax its soul."

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Has success changed them? Not so far, they schmooze claim. Guitarrist Jim Ferguson and bass player Chris Murphy, both 24, still live with their parents in Halifax, while Pentland has his own apartment. And although Sloan has established a Toronto residence in order to spend more time with his family, since Fiona Higlett, the bar owner that Halifax will remain their base. Not only is it where all band and friends are, but it is also home to the music scene that they spawned. And the bad-luck city offers no fewer distractions than a bigger centre would—a base for a group intent on completing their second album by November. In searching an outpost for grunge in Atlantic Canada, Sloan has found Halifax on the paperthin map.



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# LEADERSHIP REVIEW

## Conrad Black's autobiography examines politicians

In 1962 during his first semester at Ottawa's Carleton University, 18-year-old Conrad Black spent more time in the House of Commons reading *Montgomery's biography* than in the classroom. And at night, he continued his Canadian political education over poker games with the senator or a ministerialist (and where they all lived). Over the years Black's interest—and involvement—with politicians was not abated. He was active in two Conservative leadership campaigns and with one former prime minister, Brian Mulroney's "young," despite his "inexperience." Another prime minister, Brian Mulroney, once called him "a little bit of a legend" and, on behalf of Mulroney, as agent of record, John Turner, the understanding is, he "represented" him. Additionally with leading politicians of the past four decades is he persona non grata to Canadian. In the following excerpt from his autobiography, *A Life in Progress*, to be published on Nov. 1 by Key Porter Books Ltd., Black reflects on impressions of some of the leaders he has known and befriended.

### Pierre Trudeau

In the spring of 1982, I was also receiving some attention from the most prominent of all Canadian politicians, Pierre Elliott Trudeau. My friends Jim Caustis and Tom Awrey, successive principal accountants to the prime minister, were now involved in political scheming, determined that I like Brian Mulroney and John Turner and a few other prominent members of the Conservative should become a Liberal prime minister. Trudeau enjoyed my dinner at his home, following a meeting with leading backbenchers on the federal government's plan to reduce inflation with compensation increases of six and five per cent.

I was reasonably supportive of Trudeau, despite his controversial policies and his vulnerability to almost any bad that sort of the world.

His inaction of a belligerent, occupational, regional, and sexual group defined public policy and ultimately brought the country to more than worse, turned Canada into a people of sharing politically conformist welfare addicts.

I was also to ascertain what I considered Trudeau's appealing political shortcomings, because on the present issue he had to live with relations between English and French-Canadians. He was creative, tenacious, and, for many years, indispensible.

He lived like a Benevolent Monk in 24 Sussex Drive. There was very little furniture in the house, except for the dining room, which had to have a table and chairs in function stilt.

His was the most brilliant star in the country, he was bright, qualified, and prone to know that the dictatorial fixation of the envious

Reprinted with permission from *A Life in Progress*, copyright Conrad Black, published by Key Porter Books, Toronto.

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Black (right) with Trudeau and Mulroney, the prime minister he'd "real shorthanded," the president was a "magnificent."

English-Canadian men required that the highest, happiest, most agile types be led low, as it were, faced with a garden of birds, pursued the most swiftly flying and brightly feathered, the one whose frenzheim would most brighten the others.

It was, I suggested, a sadistic desire, carried by soul-destroying envy, to ridicule all those who might aspire to anything of the slightest accomplishment. Trudeau added that he was well familiar with the phenomena and invited a sports metaphor to say that what made Canada especially difficult to govern was that French-Canadians "like a winter and exceedingly like a winter, and English-Canadians indulge a winter and, for obvious I have never understood, hardly ever a winter." (He obviously meant himself, but it was no meaningful comment.)

In any event, it was clear that I was not enthusiastic about working with him, but it was, as always, with Pierre Trudeau, a most stimulating discussion.

### Brian Mulroney

Brian Mulroney did the honorable, as well as the expedient thing, by retiring in the spring of 1993. Despite his unsuccessful attempts to give away much of the federal jurisdiction, he was in policy terms the best Canada has had since Louis St. Laurent. Not overburdened

With Thatcher: Turner (below); "she was obviously feminine, a very strong woman."

with convictions, seeking always to consolidate the most persistent left-leaning, Brian had shortly after his return to the public of dispensable public expectations we had harbored when he worked in Palm Beach two years before. Free trade was his triumph, but he left his office as he came to it, so indifferent personally.

An irony of his friends had leaving, after a lifetime of ardent pursuit of Canada's highest political office, Brian was unable to build a real constituency based on a constituency of national goals. It would be a political injustice as well as impractical to consider his public record in terms of a *œuvre*, but there are a few sad traces of just such a political tape. Shortly after leaving office, Brian was either misheard, misrepresented of his compatriots and unconvincing that they really want Canada to work.

Apart from his real shortcomings and being grossly underappreciated by his constituency for his constable attributes, Brian always corrected to me the impression of greatly exaggerating the sugar taste of his office. The Canadian political system is so paradoxically fragmented and the population so geographically fractured, the federal prime minister's role consists chiefly in codicil decisions with his provincial analogues. By the time Brian convened such conferences, the whole Canadian political system had become a laborious and demeaning tailoring shop, managing borrowed money around a population composed almost entirely of self-proclaimed geographic, ethnic, behavioral, and physiological victims. Democratic canaries normally sing the government's dirges, but I am not convinced that such an avian, whining project as Canada will become in the willfully oblivious, easily disengaged, and fundamentally well-intended political chameleons in Brian Mulroney.

### John Turner

I encountered John early often through his posts in offices. He was to a performance of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra in Ottawa's Capital Theatre in 1984 and participated in the final session by bellowing, "Abbaye, abbaye," in reference to the conductor, Zubin Mehta. He always exhibited a sort of halberdier's manner, accompanied with real intellectual gifts. At the time of his writing, he was 65, balding, thin, with a kindly, intelligent, well-educated, academic, Catholic. John Turner was destined to have a heraldic future. So he would have, had he not been artificially confined to only a few months at centre stage between a Trudeau who was reluctant to leave it and a Mulroney who was implacably determined to ascend. John went almost overnight from tomorrow's man to yesterday's without ever managing the day in which he actually landed.

(After Turner announced his retirement in 1983, Brian Mulroney had the opportunity to offer him the post of ambassador to the Vatican, in absolute confidence and retaining the ability to deny the offer if it were treated otherwise. It was not, but John declined the offer somewhat poignantly, implying he had expected better but wouldn't have accepted it anyway. It was a generous gesture by the prime minister.)

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### Margaret Thatcher

She impressed me as having little historical perspective before the British, but a powerful sense of how to make contemporary British prosperous and internationally influential. In pursuit of those goals, neither her courage nor her stamina could be eroded. Although firmly determined and tenacious with a tendency to overbearing, she was not at all arrogant, sensed her own vulnerability almost to the point of exaggerating it—and was refreshingly courteous towards the household staff.

She was extraordinarily purposeful, but had no discernible weaknesses, neither in her great office nor in her personal life. Although she had no political life I have known, she lived power, but only for the perfection of her idea of Britain as a strong, general, commanding leader with a world vision. And she was obviously feminine, a very strong woman but not at all a manly one, almost Elizabethan in her manner, courage, and in the looks and fitness of her likes and dislikes.

### Ronald Reagan

He interested in not only his, but in his place he was far from being a self-styled. Ronald Reagan impressed me as a man of insatiable self-confidence and political optimism: courageous, decisive, and positive.

His vague countenance, unpredictable, and sociopathic response to almost everything could be disconcerting, but he was a statesman, a pragmatist in belief, if not in intelligence or knowledge of his own powers, as Roosevelt or Dulles. However he did it, he preferred America. The combination of the 600-shillings-a-year, 19 million not-new jobs, virtual elimination of inflation, victory in the Cold War, and a 25-per-cent top personal income-tax rate qualified him in my estimation for Mount Rushmore.

As Henry Kissinger said, he was "not a chess player, but a poker player and a brilliant one," and he kept running the rule until his Soviet opponent was bested. The Reagan Revolution was the Cold War, the greatest, most bloodless, most benign strategic victory since the end of the nation-state, it rechristened America, reestablished the presidency's place in the American system, and improved two fingers of the state's hand from the pockets of the people. □



# Never say die

*A plane crash survivor feels immortal*

FEARLESS  
Directed by Peter Weir

Jeff Bridges is one of Hollywood's most underappreciated talents. He acts with a motor at ease, projecting the sort of blitheness, warmth, and sex appeal that landing men are made of. But in recent years, Bridges has subverted his affable image with the manner of a character actor. Now, rejoining himself, he has taken one of his finer roles after another. Playing a insurance agent in *Flight of the Navigator* (1986), he saved his career on a dare. As a car inventor in *The Last Picture Show* (1971), he simplified it to create a moving parody of American overkill device. In *The Fabulous Baker Boys* (1989), his character considered behind a hand-balanced egg. Then, in *The Fisher King* (1991), Bridges let loose as a burned-out sales hot who fills in with a schizophrenia.

The actor's best work has been overshadowed—by Michelle Pfeiffer in *Blow Up* and by Helen Mirren in *Miller's Crossing*. But with his new movie, *Rooster*, there is no danger of that. Bridges gives the performance of his career in an exuberantly joyous role. He plays a San Francisco architect who has delusions of grandeur after surviving a plane crash. Directed by Australian Peter Weir (*Witness*, *Dead Poets Society*), the movie very ably evokes the nature of a neurotic's experience. It is by turns harrowing, hal-humorous and deeply moving.

The film examines fear of death with microscopic intimacy. And for Bridges, it is an opportunity to explore the basic chemistry affecting the sliding scale of vulnerability. "So much of my work deals with fear, whether magnifying it or breaking through it," he told *Maclean's* recently in Los Angeles. "Fear of entombedness is something. Fear actors come up against the fear. Sometimes it's nice to just let it break out, or to pay right through it. You play with it, it becomes a friend that you get to know better over the years."

*Rooster* opens on a console in southern California. Miss Bridges has just crawled from the wreckage of a plane crash, holding fellow passengers to safety. Pictures of wings of debris carry the random names of what survivors and dead had been: an usherette, a champagne bottle, clattering kitchen utensils, a duster, a shiny cowboy boot, a small wad of money, a charred cigarette.

Miss Weir's summary of the scene, near a

car and driver to Los Angeles, where he hooks up with old friend. He does not even know his wife and son are in San Francisco. He is led to the euphoria of being alive, a kind of post-traumatic stress disorder.

When he finally reaches home, Max leaves his family in the dust while indulging his new passion for life—and cheating death. He strolls through heavy traffic, he balances on



the roof of a building. John has lost his life. He has also lost all patience with the time pressures, and pressures, of civilization—he has contempt for book and movie

gas assigned to him by the airline (Bob Tansey) and the emergency services (fire chief, police, doctor, lawyer). But he becomes charmed when his inadvertent finds a son and a daughter, a crash survivor, a pretty young Puerto Rican named Carlita (Rosie Perez). Carlita is described by Miss Weir as "a sweet, shy girl who has just lost her mother in the crash, and Max takes it upon himself to care for her."

Freud has won't forget moments, most of them in a confined space where Max and Carlita Christmas presents for the dead. But on the whole, the movie sidesteps cliché and sentiment while Weir stays down life's

"big questions" with unconvincing wit. Wendy, he places the crash scene at the end of the film, in a flashback that unfolds to the spellbinding and spiritual *Symphony No. 3* by Henry Cowell.

The movie has religious dimensions—as Carl's death-dealing rooster, Max is a carnivorous Christ figure—but the drama is grounded by the complexity of the characters. In an astounding departure from playing featherweight gallivans, Peter Weir is a director with a soul having something approaching. And Rosalie, as a wife who refuses to be the victim, finally has a dignified role that does justice to her intelligence. But the movie belongs to Bridges, whose lovely, lucid performance lights up the drama on multiple levels—from interplay to marital conflict. On one level, the crash kills Max like a monstrous madlife crime after 15 years of marriage. He puts wife and family on hold to look for cosmic relief.

Tragedy, O, how beautifully he has learned it!

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## BOOKS

## Inventing a language of love

1 poet writes of a doomed relationship

In the corner of a West Indian coffee shop in Toronto, poet Dennis Lee was talking story. "Hey baby, it's blazin'," he crooned, his voice as low and slow as a blues singer's. "Come closer, woman, let your eyelids roll." Around the room, heads began to turn in his direction. Lee, who was reading to interviewers, had just finished his new book, *Anglin*, \$11.95, announced addressed to the strains of *Flippin' a page*, he began to read again. Now, he sounded like the obnoxious

4, rather goofy Dennis Lee who has an international reputation as the most brilliant (and most overblown) performer of such classic tunes as "Alligator Pie" and "Jelly Belly." He's out of his chair in exuberance, bopping through the lines like a former patient of a dance, or perhaps pigs "wallowing in the mud." "I'm a gay/woman/any divide.../To a guy/woman/any divide/.../Seafarers like us/.../coffee shop, who was this guy?"

change in his pocket. Shorn and powerfully lean, the poet conveys an air of resilience too easy to be strengths to put his arms around, frequently stopping in mid-sentence to define his terms. Yet if this face often shows the stasis of an antifoundational life, the words, half hidden in this beard, suggest a surprising, publish anomalous and humor. It is as if some part of him is in effervescent revolt against what he calls in 1988 his "Methodist inheritance," both his grandfathers were

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for \_\_\_\_\_

He plays "Promo" (and it's 10 minutes and goes to 10:58) skipping 40 minutes to the 10:58. Then starts back to his original 10:58. (He's 1 minute late then starts 10:58 and skips 40 minutes to the 10:58 and loops in memory to the 10:58 he started). The "Stolen" transmission "Promo" (that he meant to broadcast) 10:58 to 10:58 is the "Stolen".

# Hold the presses!

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CHARTER 9 FAVORITE NEWSMAGAZINE

## BOOKS

Methodist preachers, and Lee himself intended an apocryphal man to become a convert.

But it was language that ultimately was his downfall. In 1866, he gave up a promising career as a literary academic at the University of Toronto, hoping to improve his poetry (which at the time was stiff and stilted) by rubbing shoulders with the rest world. The next few years were extraordinarily productive. He helped found Toronto's experimental *Rosedale College*, and, along with writer Dave Godfrey created The

House of Anansi, which published new Canadian writers. Lee finally found his true poetic voice in the long, meditative poems of *First Bridges*. His musings on the place of the private individual in public life. During these years, Lee also married Diana Youngblood and fathered the two children for whom he first wrote his children's poems. From the 1970s to the present, his writing for young people has supplied the bulk of his income.

Rijk had an anguish in the breakup of Leo's first marriage. That happened in 1981, when the post was living in Edinburgh in just a winter's residence program. The next year, he began to appear with a Canadian woman living in Britain. When his lover had to leave for a month (they eventually separated) for good, he had himself "staying up late and drinking to excess," he said. "I was not able to go to bed until 2 or 3 a.m. every night. One night, while listening to early rock 'n' roll artist Buddy Holly on headphones, he grabbed a pen and began writing rapidly. 'It was virtually instantaneous writing,'" Leo said, "and in the morning there were five 20- to 30-page, a few of them in a voice that was absolutely sure of itself'."

Like the author of *Rift*, Lee became addicted to writing these short poems in a way of conserving with the little energy spared by his disease. Over the next four or five months, he collected several hundred of them. But for 18 years he was unable to settle what the estimates were: "many thousands of pages"—three or four hundred, "to share them out is satisfying work. Then, two years ago, he finally hit upon the idea of introducing a third character into the story line of *Rift*, the husband of the narrator's lover. A partly fictional creation, he gave the story body, a more dramatic shape, and new possibilities for moral reflection.

Long driving energy and faultless craft make *Ribb* an unusually easy book of poems to read. And while it sometimes endures to pay headlong endurance at the expense of deeper emotion, it also yields its many little sides of complex, original beauty. In character, it is densely moving, with an reverberant sense of depths buried over a barren sea.

Let himself still sorrow in delight; in the vanishing playfulness of his new book, in his eagerness to make dooms it in a crowded restaurant shadowed. And if the snobbery of his insipid coffee-shop critics are any indication, he will, as they say in jazz, have all his change.

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE CLASSROOM

# Maclean's

## THE THIRD ANNUAL

# MACLEAN'S REPORT ON AND RANKING OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES



JOHN REVWOLD



THE JOURNAL OF



# Fear and loathing on the Campbell trail

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**T**raditionally it always makes better copy than tragedy. Mr. Shakespeare taught us all that some time ago. The most fascinating story of this bizarre election is not that the 78-year-old soldier Jean Chretien charging away powerfully to victory. More interesting is the collapse of the Conservative government that had the Prime Minister after an embarrassing day, by some six hours from Ottawa to Vancouver for a single event, in uttering the words "spouse" attempting to save the seat of the unsavoury Tom Mulcair—and then had to back it again in a humiliating end that a mere month earlier.

The Tory campaign is composed of part partisans, part cynics—large batches of ego—and no discernible policy. The cynics at the campaign have clearly gone wonky. Go figure. The Conservative genius who had the Prime Minister after an embarrassing day, by some six hours from Ottawa to Vancouver for a single event, in uttering the words "spouse" attempting to save the seat of the unsavoury Tom Mulcair—and then had to back it again in a humiliating end that a mere month earlier.

What we have here are some goofy and press-strewn Tory losers in Ottawa just across those Charlton doors trying to program a Prime Minister who doesn't like direction. They push the button on the back of the robot but the robot doesn't respond.

Not on speech style. Not on dress. Not on press relations. This dog won't hunt, as they say in Georgia. Nothing goes right.

The Campbell campaign plan, in all these things degenerates into resembles a Internally discriminatory. Scruffy TV commercials with flings in their eyes, less than virile handlers, wavy moustaches—all cued up to a wheezy radio that races across the country endlessly for two months—but the end of it is probably being lost.

Each radio ad, whether it's commercial passengers in their plane installed. Farmers down the aisle seat that has become a house-wrecker from 1000, pointing it with justed digital photos doesn't have, discarded hand keys—a television guarding a particular sort, rather like a groundhog at a burrow.

This scribbler who caused the 1984 and 1993 campaigns while otherwise occupied in



The great democracy in our south notices some difference. In the early days of the campaign jets, the fellow travellers of the press took up two thirds of the seats. The Prime Minister and staff entourage surrounded in the front three of the craft.

As the press press has surrendered over the press to television, there are not that many types about. Nature shows a view and now the PCs front of the craft extends two-thirds of the way to the back—the buzz, the hand holders, the speech writers, the press flacks, a pair of people with cell phones who don't know what to do.

A perplexed observer travels for days from Vancouver to Red Deer to Edmonton to Sudbey to Waterloo to Niagara Falls to Toronto and can't find out what all these bodies of. The answer is clear. They spend the taxpayer's last. Cost for a reporter to go the whole campaign route. \$18,000.

This may not have been the smart campaign ever run, but it comes close.

In Edmonton the candidate refers to "this burning community." Reporters look at each other. Edmonton? Home of Peter Park and the world's largest mall? The candidate is clearly exhausted though not exhausted.

The three huge bases in Terry blue and white number past the yellow outside in the flat prairie. After the Kennedy years when the West was a desolation was recovered. This side. Come on write the classic *The Boys in the Blue*, a now-standard description of what happens when too many people are in each other's face for too long.

It is now the girls in the box. They are all blue, as in blue jeans, though, these coated ladies running the wheat fields their spines.

The boys on the bus dress like teenagers who own one pair of jeans. The girls on the bus have a concession working and look like something off the front page of *Chateaubriand*. It takes a lot of work. Who said life was fair?

In North Battleford dozens of kindergarten children sitting cross-legged on the floor in front of the adults, the Prince of Wales tells of her "deficit reduction plan." A cerebral exercise, rolling his eyes, slants off his tape recorder after 10 minutes.

There is incipient easy among the dazed crew as the bus for the mounted re-enactment—one of the most graceful written in Canadian journalism—who has been busted for supposedly getting on this death march with not only marijuana but hash, cocaine and magic mushrooms.

This may be the only sensible scribbler in the land, unique mushrooms being the perfect fit for anyone aboard the Campbell. Of its former faded why not a blushing the media, she says to a reporter: "Are you a nerd?" He answers a chance for the last line at the campaign. "Not during press questions a Prime Minister."

On the plane—downwards, the discolor in the ankles is suddenly brightened by Cindy the bus driver, who has traded her Green-and-blue uniform and sneakers in a dress to do for her a green waistcoat. The lady reporters suddenly a lot of interest. John Goodman.

On the bus to Victoria, where everyone carries cell phones and are always their side makers on the Chretien coasters, comprising three lots. In small towns the Campbell members always off the national press off to a hillside room, not letting them witness her coping with the local bairns. They regard the press as a natural enemy, and the candidate of "the politics of inclusion" gets the expected reward.

Thus may not have been the smart campaign ever run, but it comes close.

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